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**'Organic Historical Reasoning: redefining the concept of
'Historical Empathy.'**

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(BSc. Hons.) M A, PGCE, Museums Diploma

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Examined by; Professor Penelope Harnett, Dr. Jon Nichol and Professor Kaz
Stuart.

Dedication and acknowledgements

This is dedicated to the memory of Ginny, my wife, friend and partner who died so very young. It is also dedicated to our wonderful boys, Joe, Sam and Jack.

It is with grateful thanks to Professor Hilary Cooper who has provided support, encouragement and kept me going during some challenging times. I would also like to offer my thanks to Dr. Paul Cammack who challenged me and pushed me towards a new level of thinking.

Declaration:

I declare this to be my own work. I confirm that this work has not been submitted in the same or a similar form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

Abstract

This thesis examines ways in which non-specialist primary ITE (Initial Teacher Education) students can make historically valid connections with people who lived in the past. The literature review analyses the work of R. G. Collingwood and is critical of the concept of Historical Empathy, developed by educationalists from his work. It then identifies, from recent literature, aspects of Historical Empathy which may be achievable for these non-specialist students of history, combined with findings from recent research in psychology and philosophy, particularly when they are applied to material culture. The literature review concludes, with a tentative first model of a proposed new concept, which was labelled Organic Historical Reasoning and comprised of four sub-concepts.

Semi-structured interviews with 11 ITE students were recoded and transcribed. The data were analysed using a grounded first coding, which was aligned with a thematic approach to confirm overarching themes, reflecting the students' thinking about people in the past. The key concepts identified in the literature review as potential dimensions of Organic Historical Reasoning were broadly reflected in the first data analyses but the model was revised after a detailed analysis of the responses in each of the four sub-concepts of Organic Historical Reasoning (model 2). This model was finally revised as model 3, which orders the component parts of the proposed concept of Organic Historical Reasoning, based on their strength within the data and their dependence on pedagogy. This tentative model describes key types of thinking which enabled this sample of non-specialist primary trainee teachers to connect with the reality of past lives.

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'Organic Historical Reasoning: redefining the concept of

'Historical Empathy.'

Introduction

This study represents the culmination of nearly 30 years of work and experience in the teaching of history. It began after I left primary teaching to work on an urban farm for children and young people in the North East of England during the late 1980s. It was as the education officer on this farm that I worked with the educationalists Neil Tonge and Terry Deary to create what we then called 'Living History' days for children. This was my first real taste of trying to engage children with past lives. These were filmed for a BBC programme called 'The 8:15 from Manchester' in the early 1990s. Terry subsequently went on to complete his series of books titled 'Horrible Histories' and I moved on to become a Museum Education Officer, firstly in Trowbridge, Wiltshire and secondly in Lancaster, Lancashire. It was while working in these museums that I began to enact what I had learned from the 'Living History' days with the wide variety of groups that came to experience the education events I organised.

Whilst I was working in museums I trained as a curator at Leicester University and completed an education dissertation under the tutelage of Eileen Hooper-Greenhill. It was because of her work that I began to think about the quality of the educational experience in museums. I began to reflect that whilst the imaginative approaches such as the 'Living History' or as we latterly termed it, 're-enactment and role-play' were very good at prompting excellent reviews and quick engagement from those who attended the sessions they were not so good at promoting deep thinking about past

lives. Influenced by the work of writers such as Gail Durbin for example, (Durbin, Morris and Wilkinson, 1990) I began to wonder how the experience of the educational museum visitors might be more securely based upon evidence. It was then that I began experimenting with approaches that placed evidence alongside the role-play and I began to realize that artefacts seemed to be particularly good at prompting thoughts that the past had been real. I also noted that the artefacts seemed to be most effective when they used alongside other contextual strategies such as the role-play and when the person presenting the artefacts had good knowledge of what they were and how they had been used.

I further developed my thinking about the association between evidence and past historical lives when I moved on to work as a lecturer in history and education at the University of Cumbria, in 2003. Here I became acquainted with the work of Professor Hilary Cooper which prompted me to think very hard about how artefacts could best be used in training teachers to teach history effectively. This also prompted me to begin assembling a collection of genuine artefacts which I felt would be useful in teaching ITE (Initial Teacher Education) students about past historical lives. The collection has been carefully researched to provide good information for those handling it during my teaching and some of it is listed in Appendix 1. It was through Hilary Cooper's advice that I became aware of the work of R.G. Collingwood (1946). It was his work that gave me ideas about how an historian can use evidence to imaginatively deduct a picture of past events.

Professor Hilary Cooper also acquainted me with the often-referenced study by Lee, Dickenson and Ashby (1997), (also based upon the work of R.G. Collingwood), about how primary school children may use sources to imaginatively deduct the thoughts of

the Roman Emperor Claudius. The strategy they had used was known as Historical Empathy (HE) although Collingwood, as I later found out, had not used that term. It was then that I began to experiment with ideas around using Historical Empathy (HE) for both teaching in schools and during my lecture series. As my first degree had been in the discipline of psychology I was acquainted with the disposition of empathy but I found it remarkable that although I was assiduous in attempting to use the idea of Historical Empathy (HE) in my teaching it did not seem to be an effective way of engaging students with past lives. It seemed to me that this may have been because strategies which were aimed at developing empathetic thoughts about those past lives often seemed to be associated with imaginative thoughts about things that the students did not know. In effect the strategies seemed to be prompting imaginative guesses and sometimes even fantasies about those past lives. I also felt that interpreting the thoughts of another person, especially a 'dimly lit' historical figure, (as demanded by some methods of HE), was far too challenging, most especially for these non-specialist students of history. I was by then confused about how to approach historical lives and not at all confident that I knew how I, as an historian, should be teaching students to engage with them. Therefore, I began to research this problem. I found that artefacts often appeared to be very good at prompting the students to be enthusiastic about their history lessons. I subsequently published a small body of work relating to this topic. The idea of this project began more than a decade ago but has been twice interrupted: firstly; by the very sad and untimely death of my beloved wife Ginny (to whom this work is dedicated) and secondly, by a near fatal cycling accident that befell one of my sons, Sam. Therefore, it is with grateful thanks to Professor Hilary Cooper that I have managed to see this through at all.

Chapter 1

Review of the Literature

Introduction

I believe that it is essential for non-specialist students of history, both primary ITE students, and so their school pupils, to form connections with people in the past. This would be a connection which enables them to understand that people in the past were once as alive and real as we are today and one that inspires their further interest in historical enquiry. Primary ITE students often have little knowledge of history themselves. Previous attempts to find ways of enabling students to engage with people in the past resulted in a 'fuzzy' and variously interpreted concept, labelled 'Historical Empathy' (HE) which, even when modified, is very difficult to achieve. This review explores the reasons why the concept of Historical Empathy (HE) can be unattainable for these non-specialist students of history. It then explores recent literature to form a better understanding of the ways in which non-specialists may naturally connect with the past during teaching about historical lives. Experience and research suggests that artefacts, material culture, may be a useful context in which to examine such natural thinking in an historically valid manner.

This chapter is laid out as follows:

In the first section the literature review considers a variety of ways in which historians explore past lives and the difficulties they encounter. The second section considers the concept of Historical Empathy (HE), critically examining the work of R.G. Collingwood and its influence on educationalists and making the case that (HE) is a problematic

concept for supporting these non-specialist students of history to feel a connection with people who lived in the past. The third section considers the rationale for constructing a new concept that may reflect the natural ways in which students engage with people in the past. The fourth section investigates whether there is an area of overlap between Historical Empathy (HE) and psychological empathy (Ψ_e) that may be a dimension of such a concept. In section five other aspects of recent research in psychology are considered that may also inform our understanding of how students naturally connect with people in the past. The final section considers how such a new concept, referred to as 'Organic Historical Reasoning', may be prompted by material culture during instruction.

1.1. The nature of history

It may be useful to first reflect upon the nature of history and the perspective it allows for viewing past lives. History is a narrative of the past that is achieved through an appeal to evidence. Historians construct this narrative by reflecting on the evidence known to them and through using their contextual knowledge and 'historical imagination' they make links between what is known and what remains unknown. Thus, by its nature history is an 'imaginative' narrative construction of the past based on the interpretation of evidence, rather than a science of the past.

In constructing a narrative of the past an historian acts within a number of constraints, two of which are particularly significant to this work on thinking and reasoning about past lives. These are the different levels of importance that an historian accords to individual past lives and the problems of perspective; that is understanding that

people who lived in past societies had different values, attitudes and beliefs to those of today.

1.1.ii The '*longue duree*' or a focus on great historical figures

History is concerned with past lives but historians focus on them with different levels of detail. During a narrative that takes a lengthy chronological perspective (such as the history of Britain since the Iron Age) the ripples of events caused by individuals may be described as small. Conversely, during a narrative of an event such as WWII individual roles may be more significant. It is notable, however, that even during their discussion of long chronological periods historians may choose to make references to individual lives to engage their readers more fully.

As an example of the choices the historian makes with regard to the viewing of past historical lives we may consider the dilemma faced by the historian and archaeologist Cunliffe (2008:17-19) in laying out his long view of history. His book, '*Europe Between the Oceans, 9000BC – AD1000*', highlights Febvre's view that history may encompass dimensions of many other disciplines. Febvre sees an historian as also a geographer, a jurist, a sociologist and a psychologist. However, for Cunliffe (2008), whose book covers 10,000 years of European history, the role played by individuals may be secondary to the exploration of chronology. By contrast, therefore, Cunliffe pointed out the work of Braudel who saw the '*Longue durée*' as the underlying force influencing all human society. Braudel's view is often equated with structuralism. In this view of history culture is seen as part of an overarching structure and events occur within a 'force', such as the rise of technology.

However, as Cooper (2014:55) states, many historians still find a place for a deep engagement with past historical lives, for example Löwy, (2000:2-8) and this is because the 'force' referred to above can also provide a context for a people-centred history. Another example of people playing a central part of 'the long view' is the work of Milne (2018) whose discussion of human evolution is couched in terms of the adaption of the hunter-gather to modern life. His work is still very much about 'us' as humans; it is about explaining who we are and what we do. Thinking about past lives, therefore, may involve both connecting with individuals about whom little is known as well as being focussed upon well-documented lives.

1.2 The work of R.G. Collingwood, leading to the construction of the concept of Historical Empathy

1.2.i R.G. Collingwood's exploration of ways of understanding people in the past

All historical narrative, it has been argued, engages with past historical lives to a greater or lesser extent. In laying out their narratives historians face choices about how closely they will focus upon those lives. Some historians, such as Collingwood (1946:203-231), argued that historians should pay very close attention to the thoughts of historical figures. Indeed, such a mode of thinking involves the thoughts, motives, actions, articulations and beliefs of an historical actor.

The work of Collingwood (1946) was influential in the development of a paradigm for detailed thinking about past lives that later became known as Historical Empathy (HE). It will be useful to examine the work of Collingwood at this point, particularly his assertions regarding the '*historical imagination*'.

Whilst historians such as Cunliffe and Hobsbawm discuss past lives they do not often give a sense that they know the person's thoughts. This, however, contrasts with ideas expressed by Collingwood (1946:217-219) who asserts that the historian is concerned with events that are an outward expression of thoughts and it is only by re-thinking them for ourselves that we can uncover them. This mode of thinking requires the use of speculation and imagination. R.G. Collingwood made a notable contribution to the debate on how to think about past historical lives and his essays written during the 1930s were synthesised posthumously. In this work Collingwood (1946:203-231) argues passionately that the role of historians is to think themselves into the mind of the historical figure. In this way, he says, the historian needs to discern the outside of an event (the action) in relation to the inside of the event (the thought that gave rise to the action). It is the proper job of the historian, therefore (p.230) to penetrate the thoughts of the historical actor and then determine the externals (the consequences) of those acts.

Collingwood (1946:231-249) also discussed the role of the historian's imagination, which he likened (p.243) to the work of a detective, because the historian faces an assemblage of information and (possibly) misinformation and, therefore, uses *a priori* imagination to form a narrative of an event. Thus, the historian's deduction is based upon making imaginative links between disparate facts to understand and create a picture of an historical event. Collingwood gives what he calls three rules of method (p.246), which he says separate the work of the historian from that of the novelist. These are: that the picture should be localised in space and time, secondly that history should be consistent with itself, both topographically and chronologically and finally, that the picture should stand in relation to evidence. He explains that anything may be

considered in relation to evidence but it is only through knowledge that evidence can acquire meaning.

Collingwood's ideas seem to have been attractive to educationalists (Burston, 1954:112-121; Levesque, 2009:147-9; Lemisko, 2004:1; D'Oro, 2004:4). However, it is also useful to note that many of the studies which refer to the work of Collingwood seem related to the use of an academic approach to teaching and learning in history, primarily through the use of written sources (Cunningham, 2007:595).

1.2.ii Analysis of Collingwood's ideas on making connections with people in the past

This section analyses the components of Collingwood's thinking about how to connect with people in the past. The analysis creates a foundation for analysing the ways in which subsequent history educators developed Collingwood's concepts into what became known as 'Historical Empathy' (HE). It is, however, important to note that R.G. Collingwood himself did not use the term 'empathy' (Hughes-Warrington 2003:72) and that subsequent work merely drew upon his thoughts in formulating a definition of it. Retz (2015:217) sees it as being unlikely that Collingwood would sanction any of the work of the empathising educators crafted in his name such as that of Shemilt (1984:41-43).

In table 1.1 below I have broken down the work of R.G. Collingwood into six distinct aspects of thinking about past lives. This is to explore the ways in which history educators developed and interpreted his work to formulate the concept of HE.

Collingwood's orders of thinking about past lives	Examples from the writing of R.G. Collingwood (1946).
Human history	Firstly, history is concerned with human affairs (p.213). Secondly, the historian is not merely concerned with the action of an event but with the underlying thoughts that led to it (pp.213-215 & 217).
Perspective	Firstly, the past acts in the present; that is to say, as an historian, we can understand what is intelligible to us (pp.218,219). Secondly, the past is seen from the present time and therefore no history is final. Each generation will re-write history. Historical thought is a river into which no-one can step twice (pp.247-248).
Evidence	Firstly, history must be constructed in relation to evidence (246). Secondly, historians must become masters of their sources (p.238). Thirdly, the historian reflects on the truthfulness of those sources (pp. 234-237 & pp.243-245).
Context	Firstly, historical knowledge is related to a context, which an historian needs to know (p.247). Secondly, the historian's perspective is localised in space and time (p.246); history must be consistent with itself (p. 246).
Imagination	The historian constructs the reality of the past based upon ' <i>a priori imagination</i> ' (pp.240-243).

Interpretation	<p>Historians can re-discover the past by re-thinking the past.</p> <p>They imagine that person’s thoughts (pp.217-219).</p> <p>Historians critically engage with and re-think what they uncover of past historical lives (pp.215-216).</p> <p>Historians use their experience of the world to check the interpretations of sources (p.239).</p>
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Table 1.1 Collingwood’s orders of thinking

Table 1.1. shows an analysis of the different aspects of connecting with people in the past suggested by R.G. Collingwood (1946).

1.2.iii.Variety of interpretations of the concept of Historical Empathy derived from Collingwood’s work (table 1.1)

In this section each of Collingwood’s orders of thinking about past lives, shown in table 1.1, is examined in turn. This is to consider its influence on subsequent history educators and the development of the concept of Historical Empathy (HE).

Human History

Collingwood considered that studying human history involved exploring a person’s underlying thoughts that led to their actions. Some writers (similarly to Collingwood) contest that HE is a tool solely for examining thoughts of an historical figure and their relation to action from a cognitive perspective. This is a perspective which may appear unnatural in complexion. Other writers, however,

feel that a similar examination can be achieved through promoting both cognitive (thinking about thoughts) and affective (linking to feelings) dimensions of past lives, which appears to be more natural. Proponents of a cognitive/affective approach, for example Endacott and Pelekanos (2015:2), explain that HE is useful in humanizing historical figures and Endacott and Brooks (2013:41-46) advocate it as a process of cognitive and affective engagement with historical figures to understand and contextualise their lived experiences, actions or decisions. Davis (2001:3) similarly notes that HE involves intellectual and affective thoughts about past lives, events and situations within a defined context. Shemilt (1984:39) describes Historical Empathy (HE) as a device that is seen by some as a *'divine wind that blows life into the dry bones of the past'*. He then (p.41) remarks that Historical Empathy (HE) makes an historian into a *'psyche snatcher'* and *'stealer of souls'* who re-lives the thoughts and feelings of past figures. Shemilt is usually regarded as advocating a more cognitive approach to avoid the dangers inherent in falsely interpreting an historical figure's thoughts.

Perspective

Subsequent writers have problematized Collingwood's view that history involves understanding the thoughts of people in the past. This is because they recognised that while we have much in common with past historical figures, we cannot assume that we have the same understandings, morals, beliefs and values as they did. Thus, whilst we recognise that we have a common bond with past lives we may also reflect that their world and their thoughts were different from our own.

Barton and Levstik (2004) liken this recognition to the notion of shared normalcy, the understanding that a past figure's perspectives made sense to them. Thus, the historical actors may have acted in a way which does not make sense to us but which did to themselves. Blake (1998:26) and Retz (2015:215) both acknowledge, however, that this difference between the past and present can create tensions between our own historicity and the need to understand historical agents by the standards of their own time. In the discipline of history, therefore, it is said that judgements about past lives must be centred on contextual evidence because they cannot be based upon our present understanding and knowledge of the world.

Perrota and Bohan (2018) call the process of identifying with the perspective of historical figures 'perspective recognition'. Endacott (2014) describes this as identifying with a person's point of view rather than through attempting to enter their mind. Barton and Levstik (2004:33) also discuss perspective recognition, which they identify as being composed of 5 elements of which the most significant for this debate is a 'sense of otherness.' This sense is the understanding that other people's values, attitudes, beliefs and intentions can be different to one's own. This, they claim, avoids the kind of 'presentism' noted by Weinberg (2001), Van Sledright, (2001:58) and Brophy and Alleman (2003:108).

Some writers have thought about whether contextual knowledge is essential in connecting with people in the past. For instance, Cooper (1991:33 - 42) argues that to interpret evidence about people's thinking in the past it is necessary to understand that they may have thought and felt differently because they had

different social, political and economic constraints. However, she concurs with Collingwood that the evidence of the past is often incomplete, fragmentary and simply a reflection of the thoughts and feelings of those who created it. Thus, it is through making supposals about the thoughts and feelings which underlie evidence that the historian engages in hypothetico-deductive and imaginative reasoning. It is such thinking that can lie at the heart of considering past lives.

Retz (2015:215) argues that a degree of being outside of one's self is necessary for immersion in the subject and understanding the meaning of human action in the past. He also argues that proponents of Historical Empathy (HE) have often examined it reductively in defining what it is and is not. In other words, some writers have sought to argue that the affective components of HE can distort our conceptions of what past life must have been like. In arguing this, therefore, they have paid little heed to the wider parameters of the concept and the stated need to understand past actors by the standards of their own time has not been fully explored or completely understood.

Evidence

Historical Empathy (HE) as a concept also needs to take account of the transaction that we have with past lives. There are a number of features of this historical transaction, which is centred largely on forming an understanding of historical evidence. Firstly, historical evidence is mostly incomplete in that we may only gain momentary insights into those past lives and such insights as we do gain may be distorted by faulty historical lenses. Secondly, this transaction with evidence

may be directional because we can have a different relationship to it from the historical figure. Thirdly, we may find that people in the past have offered a deliberated or partial view of themselves to us (through diaries for instance). Fourthly, the range of evidence that there were lives in the past is varied but it is notable that the historical narrative is often inclined toward documents. Fifth, the evidence is often biased towards more prominent lives which may lead to the historical record being skewed towards the lives of 'famous men.' For these reasons, historians interpret this variety of evidence in different ways. Collingwood (1946:234-237; 243-246) had thought about this and described the historical narrative as being constructed from evidence and that the historian not only mastered but understood in relation to its truthfulness. Many educationalists have tried to hold to this view. Shemilt (1980:37) for instance reminds us that much of our knowledge about the past is based upon evidence-based imaginative re-construction. Thus, to understand a human history centred on human thought we must work from evidence towards understanding. Brooks, (2009:214-5) refers to the Foster and Yeager (1998) account where HE is associated with adductive and logical thinking centred on evidence. Her approach proposes the use of inferential and creative skills to bridge the gap between what is known and what may be inferred from history. She says that HE is a cognitive act which is embedded in the historical method. Perrotta and Bohan (2018) note that students can demonstrate HE by analysing sources (evidence) to determine historical context and identify the perspectives of historical figures. Colby (2010:70) sees this kind of historical reasoning as adductive; this is where

the historian goes through a process of hypothesising answers until a best fit explanation in relation to the evidence is obtained.

Context

Any paradigm for thinking about past lives needs to be chronologically astute. Thus, any life is located in time and deliberation of those lives needs to be aware of that location and the conditions of that location. In other words, chronology places the lives in a context that may range from living memory to (arguably) the Palaeolithic. The awareness of context thus places certain demands on the historian. Collingwood (1946:246-247) refers to, 'Context' and argues that it needs not only to be chronologically secure but also to be consistent with location as well as the historical narrative itself. This view is reflected within the discussion of HE. For instance, Rantala, Manninen and van den Berg (2016:234) state that HE is not possible without sufficient contextual knowledge. Harris (2016:1) states that in 1931 Carl Becker the president of the American Historical Association stressed that every person possessed the capacity to understand history through a study of what he called, documentation and dialogue with the past and that this would lead to 'thinking-in-time' (contextual understanding) a skill which would allow them to empathise with past events. Endacott and Sturtz (2015) explained that Historical Empathy (HE) is the process of a student's cognitive and affective engagement with historical figures which allows them to contextualise their lived experiences, decisions and actions. HE, they explain, involves an understanding of feelings, thoughts, decisions actions and consequences in specific social

contexts. Endacott and Brooks (2013:41-46) also point out that HE is a process of cognitive and affective engagement with historical figures to understand and contextualise lived experiences, actions or decisions. They recognise some of the confusion around the terminology and that some researchers use phrases such as perspective taking/recognition and rational understanding when referring to HE. They state that Historical Empathy (HE) is composed of what they identify as 3 related endeavours. Firstly, historical contextualisation which is a temporal sense of the norms of the time-period. This is consistent with Collingwood's (1946:246) three rules of method. Secondly, perspective taking which is understanding another's life experiences and beliefs. We may argue that this is consistent with Collingwood (1946:215-219). Thirdly, affective connection, which is a consideration of how those lived experiences, situations and actions may have been influenced by their affective response. Again, we may argue that this is consistent with Collingwood's (1946:217-219) work.

Interpretation and Imagination

We share a common bond of humanity with past historical figures, which means that we possess the capacity to think about and interpret their actions and circumstances. In this we might assume that our basic biology allows for a similar reaction to pain or we might also intuit that they had a broadly similar reaction to love or loss, although we may be aware that their emotions may be bound by conventions different from ours. We might also assume that the problems of being human were similar for them, so for instance they would also have suffered

some physical ailments and experienced fear, awe and wonder. Such a bond allows us to interpret the past in human terms. However, it is understood that historians must take care in using this bond to interpret the past, especially when they are using their imagination to fill in the gaps between what is known and what remains unknown. Following the thinking of Collingwood I have termed this 'Interpretation and Imagination.'

Imagination

Collingwood's words on the '*historical imagination*' seem to have been significant in producing strategies for thinking about past lives which range from almost detective-like deductions (Lee, Dickenson and, Ashby 1997; Foster and Yeager, 1998) to almost 'imaginative free-form story-telling or re-enactment' (Colby, 2010; Pelligrino, Lee and D'Erizan's, 2012). Imagination and interpretation are related endeavours. In Collingwood's work he appears to be using the term '*imagination*' to describe how the historian fills in details of what is unknown (Collingwood 1946:240-243). Thus, through using their imagination to fill in details the historian is drawing from a toolbox to offer an interpretation of the historical actor's thoughts and actions. The toolbox might include attempting to re-think or re-enact an historical actor's thoughts or through the historian drawing upon the lexicon of their own personal thoughts and feelings to understand and interpret those of the past figure. Retz (2015:214) calls this Collingwood's re-enactment doctrine and suggests that much of the thinking around HE emanated from this. Both Retz (p.217) and Hughes-Warrington

(2003:15) assert that this focus on the methods of Collingwood originated with the work of Burston (1954:112-121) who first advocated the incorporation of the historical imagination into the teaching of history. Indeed, educators such as Lee and Shemilt (2011:47-48) discuss Historical Empathy (HE) as a mechanism, where students and school pupil attempt to re-enact the historical actor's mind. They are careful about how they suggest this is done and try to make it clear that they are not advocating the use of fantasy. The act of re-enacting thoughts in this manner, they suggest, is entirely cognitive, a reasoning which they say is based on evidence. Lee (1984:85-90) argues that evidence and interpretation are prerequisites of historical imagination and that if these are used well they will lead inevitably to a rational form of HE. Lemisko (2004:1) also argues that teachers can follow Collingwood's methodological approach to the construction of historical knowledge, which relies on the historical imagination. As historians, he says we reconstruct and bring the past to life by reference to evidence but of necessity we also have to link our reconstruction to our own experience as humans without using fantasy.

However, whilst making links to one's own experiences to think about an historical actor is often seen as having benefits for students, doing this through the cognitive domain may be highly complex and even counter-intuitive. This complexity has led to teachers attempting to adapt the methodology espoused by Collingwood and favoured by Lee and Shemilt (2011) to develop their school students' *'historical imaginations'*. Such strategies often involve imaginative free-form thinking instead of a strict focus on evidence. These are outlined by

educators such as Ohn (2010) who, for example, invited teacher trainees to re-construct the past by creating narrative in the form of stories, which became diaries, letters and news reports. Or that used by Pellegrino, Lee and D’Erizans (2012) who had their school pupils engage in a re-enactment of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. However, this much more imaginative approach is highly contested and will be debated in the section below.

Thus, R. G. Collingwood’s collected writings on how to reconstruct the thoughts and so interpret the motives and actions of important figures in the past gave rise to the concept of Historical Empathy (HE) which is interpreted in multi-faceted ways by subsequent history educators and has become a contested concept in schools.

1.2.iv Reasons why these non-specialist students of history struggle to achieve historical empathy (HE) as it has been defined by history educators.

Section 1.2.iii showed how the concept of HE, derived from the work of Collingwood and that every sub-concept is understood in a variety of different ways. However, it is very difficult for non-specialist historians, both generalist, primary school student teachers and thus their school pupils, to achieve HE. The problem lies in the four interacting sub-concepts of HE which have emerged: cognitive empathy, affective empathy, presentism and historical imagination. The following section explores the reasons for this.

Cognitive Historical Empathy (HE)

Cognitive HE is seen as the domain in which the historian engages in the most conscious reflection on the thoughts, motives, actions, articulations and beliefs of an historical actor. It is also the domain in which the historian tries to avoid making links to the feelings of the historical figure. Cognitive HE, thus utilizes hypothetico-deductive and imaginative reasoning, to better understand such past lives (Cooper 1991:33-42). Many, such as Foster (1999:19) see this kind of empathy as knowing people in the past through a process of cautious enquiry and a close examination of the evidence. This is sometimes seen as the more objective and academic approach to historical enquiry about past lives (Davis, 2001; Lee and Ashby, 2001). Indeed, earlier writers on the subject, such as Shemilt (1980:37) saw HE as an evidence-based imaginative reconstruction of the historical actor's life which was based upon '*hypothetical deductive reasoning*' p.44 and '*propositional reasoning*' p.46. Lee and Shemilt (2011:47-48) discuss the cognitive dimension of HE as a mechanism, where, similarly to Collingwood (1946:282-302), the student attempts to re-enact the historical actor's mind. The act of re-enacting thoughts in the manner they suggest is entirely cognitive, a reasoning based on evidence which is highly complex.

Rantala, Manninen and Van-den-Berg (2016:324) pointed out that some writers such as Lee and Ashby (2001:24) argued that the affective domain or feelings do not belong in the sphere of HE. There is also some debate, (Dillenberg 2017:6-8) and thinking, (Endacott 2010:7) that it is the earlier writers (Lee, Ashby and Dickenson, 1997; Foster, 1999; Foster and Yeager, 1998) who tended to advocate

the strictest form of cognitive HE. This form of HE seemed best to replicate the academic process and was most often focussed on famous lives ('great men') such as Claudius, Chamberlain and Truman.

Problems with Cognitive Historical Empathy (HE) in educational contexts.

The cognitive domain of HE requires an interpretation of thought and action and this must be done by abandoning one's own perspective to take on that of the historical other. Cognitive Historical Empathy (HE) is also more tied to an academic approach to history that favours more historic figures. Such an academic stance may favour the viewing of such figures – often termed (with some irony) the 'great men' of history - because the historical record tends to favour the lives of historic figures (such as kings and, occasionally queens) over the lives of more ordinary people. Therefore, many educationalists have attempted to follow an HE based methodology which enables school pupils to effectively engage with those lives. In terms of taking such an academically and cognitively mediated approach, Lee, Dickenson and Ashby (1997:233-5) attempted to achieve HE through using a methodology which drew upon the work of Collingwood (1946:213-215; 217). In doing this they tested primary and secondary school pupils' understanding of the reasons why the Emperor Claudius chose to invade Britain. Their piece was about historical understanding based on context and exploring children's logic in interpreting Claudius' motives through sources, teaching and pictures. However, such an approach raised questions about whether it was indeed possible for a school pupil to mentally re-enact the

thoughts of a man such as Claudius. We may question whether it was possible to construe Claudius' actions in anything other than their own terms, as Lee, Dickenson and Ashby had hoped. We might speculate that students and school pupils faced with such a task would fall into the '*inescapable presentism*' of VanSledright (2001:58) not through a fault of the methodology but simply because the life of Claudius was beyond their compass. In reflecting on this we might consider the fact that Claudius was known as a man who was both intelligent and occasionally, ruthless (he had his wife Messalina executed). This argument about presentism, therefore, accrues meaning, not simply the terms of a modern mind with different knowledge, values and beliefs. It represents a person who is likely to inhabit a completely different psychological domain to the historical figure. If the student has no model to inform their thinking they must surely fall upon their own terms of reference; that is, they may interpret Claudius' actions in the same way that they would see their own. In other words, to interpret the motives of Claudius it is unlikely that most students would be able to avoid using fanciful thinking. This is one of the reasons why many writers, such as Dillenberg (2017), advocate the deployment of affective HE alongside cognitive HE.

Affective Historical Empathy (HE)

Affective HE may be seen as the domain in which the thoughts and acts of the historical actor are connected with their affective situation (Rantala, Manninen and Van-den-Berg (2016:324-345). What is meant by this is that during the

deployment of affective HE the history student is thinking about the emotions and feelings of the historical figure. In doing this a student can achieve a consciousness of how affective and emotive behaviour orders their own lives to perceive how the same (or similar) may have been true in the past. The affective domain of HE also requires emphasising skills and insights, which can then be applied to understand the feelings and emotions of an historical figure and allow the putative historian to know them better (Barton and Levstik, 2004, 2013; Van Sledright, 2001).

Problems and Possibilities of Affective Historical Empathy (HE) in educational contexts.

In the past some commentators had been concerned by the use of affective HE as an approach to learning about past lives. Indeed, in 1985 Her Majesty's Inspectors (H.M.I.) like many others, saw affective HE as being virtually synonymous with free-floating imagination (DES 1985). Low-Beer (1989), writing about affective HE, recognised the importance of the affective side of learning in motivating and involving school pupils and like Ashby and Lee (1987) noted that there was little research into how it may be incorporated into the teaching of history.

However, many modern writers now see the affective domains of HE as being a potentially useful tool for thinking about historical figures. For instance, Barton and Levstik (2013:8) equated affective HE with an identification stance. Such a stance is the disposition whereby people reflect on or identify with the emotions

of the historical figure. It is sometimes also equated with sympathy (Endacott and Brooks 2013:46). It can also be associated with care and Brooks (2011:191) advocates affective Historical Empathy (HE) as an area where we can choose historical figures for whom it is possible to have a subjective response and allow students time to engage in that response. Cunningham (2007:604) noted that affective links and processes, such as internalisation and being sensitive to sources, were dispositional benefits in the use of HE that were identified by practising teachers. Endacott (2010:7) noted that later writers such as Kohlmeier (2006) advocated an affective stance as being particularly useful as a tool for encompassing the lives of under-represented figures such as women. This affective stance appears to stand in contrast to the cognitive approach, which seems to promote thinking mainly about famous figures.

Does a combination of Cognitive and Affective HE offer a better route for students?

Dillenberg (2017:6) observed there has been a notable change in approach to the use of Historical Empathy (HE) since (she suggests) 2001 and this has led to an emphasis on the use of both cognitive and affective strategies for viewing past lives. Indeed, it is notable that later writers, (Endacott and Brooks, 2013; Endacott and Pelekanos, 2015; Endacott and Sturtz, 2015; Rantala et al. 2016; Roberts, 2016) offer a more progressive view of Historical Empathy (HE). This is a view of HE which seemed to utilise both cognitive and affective strategies. Endacott and Brooks (2013:46,47) suggested that to engage in HE the student

needs to be able to find an affective connection between the experiences faced by historical 'others' and their own lives. Therefore, if we were to re-visit the study on Claudius' invasion of Britain we may shift our perspective away from the inside of Claudius' mind to one where we might see and react to the results of the invasion and look at the lives of ordinary soldiers and Britons. This potentially allows for a wider variety of past lives to be incorporated into teaching, because documentary sources that are powerful enough to support insights into the thinking of the historical actor are no longer required.

However, it is notable that even for progressive figures there is still a reluctance to move away from using Historical Empathy (HE) to view great lives. For instance, Endacott and Brooks, (2013:47) suggest empathising with figures such as Harry Truman and Chairman Mao (as well as unrepresented figures such as mill workers). Brooks (2008:131-4) refers to work by Yeager and Doppin (2001) who studied two groups of school pupils considering Truman's decision to drop the atomic bomb in 1945. This was a study where one group worked from textbooks and the other worked from a variety of authentic documents, including first-hand accounts and memoirs about the experiences of less central figures. They found that the group who worked from the first-hand accounts often gave insightful and accurate narratives which successfully incorporated the pupils' own perspectives. This should perhaps serve as a model of good practice in using sources and evidence that illustrate the reality of all visible past lives. It is notable that Yeager also advocates that, through using diaries and other primary sources, it is possible

to answer questions about ordinary people such as p.134, *'Why did young women choose to leave farm life to find work in the mills?'*

This may, however, demonstrate a challenge for historians. This is because it may be easier and require less imagination to find sources that support the central narrative about great lives than those that provide a narration of more ordinary lives. The use of multi-genre sources about lives that are non-specific may also be regarded as too difficult because they may be perceived as being hard to locate. However, it may be possible to utilize artefacts as providing an illustration of the reality of those lives. Thus, within a contextual approach to teaching, artefacts may allow students to view the lives as lived without having to attempt to enter the mind of the historical figure. Therefore, we may question whether artefacts that clearly relate to the human sphere are more likely to promote affective engagement with past lives. We may also speculate that they are likely to promote mixed cognitive/affective Historical Empathy (HE) approaches such as Endacott and Brook's (2013) conception of 'perspective taking.' This question will be explored more fully in section 1.6.ii below.

Presentism: problems and reflections

Another characteristic of Historical Empathy (HE) which poses a problem for educators is presentism or perspective. Brophy and Alleman (2003:108) describe presentism as the tendency to view the past through the lens of hindsight, which will lead inevitably to a confusion with the present.

Affective HE is often particularly associated with strategies which are thought to allow the student of history to impose their own views and feelings onto the historical figure; in other words, it is thought that such an imposition would cause a distortion of the student's perspective. Similarly, we may think of the phrase '*illusion of understanding*' which comes from a statement collected from a teacher identified as Ms Hayes in a paper by Cunningham (2004:28). Hayes felt that school pupils engaged in what she termed '*everyday empathy*' by projecting their own views into historical minds. She was referring to a propensity to connect with a situation and project feelings into it. This is a dilemma discussed by many others. Dillenberg (2017:15) for instance recognises that in engaging in HE one is sharing in the humanity of the past but refers to the view of VanSledright (2001) that, whilst this involves an exploration of self, one can never fully understand another's experiences. Retz (2012:42) also questions whether it is possible to retrieve or project ourselves into the past without doing so from our own terms of reference. However, Barton and Levstik (2004:33), Weinberg (2001) and Brophy and Alleman (2003:108) define HE as the ability to view past lives through the eyes of people who lived in the past and appreciate their activities as an adaptation to that time and space. They say that through doing this as we engage in HE it is possible that we can tune ourselves to the past and actually manage to avoid presentism.

Reflections on resolving the problem of presentism

Firstly, Retz, (2015:214-215) suggests what he calls a moderate hermeneutical approach to solving the tensions inherent in Historical Empathy (HE). He acknowledges that to a degree, being outside of one's self is necessary for immersion in the subject and for understanding the meaning of action in the past. Retz then discusses the work of Gadamer (2004:191) and equates arguments around perspective to those encountered in hermeneutics where production and re-production are different operations. In other words, think and re-think are different and, therefore, there are problems in disconnecting oneself from one's own historical situation to make an objective connection to an historical life, through thinking about commonality. Thus, as historically situated beings, we are conditioned by the prejudices of our own existence and cannot make an objective interpretation of past lives. Retz's solution to this (2015:219-224) is based upon what he calls, 'moderate hermeneutics.'

In this approach, he says the tension between the two perspectives is not hidden but brought out. Therefore, the historians are not trying to uncover the original meaning but acknowledging that they have brought out a new meaning by fusing two perspectives. This is something that Collingwood (1946:248) acknowledges when he compares history to a river. It may be the same river but not the same water and, thus the historian cannot step into the same water as the past figure. In this sense what stops us '*falling into the abyss of relativism*' (Retz, 2015:221) is through the interpreter projecting fore-meaning in advance of their interpretation. The interpreter then re-visits the meaning in the light of their

encounter with the source and, therefore, meaning is produced anew. It is through this type of encounter, Retz argues (p.224), that the educator does not have to banish the student's own way of thinking.

Historical imagination: problems and possibilities. Problems with the 'Traditional Method.'

This method is most clearly exemplified by Lee, Dickenson and Ashby (1997) and Yeager, Foster and Maley (1998) and we might call it the 'traditional method'. In this first iteration the historian muses upon evidence (often written sources) and applies *a priori* imagination to offer an interpretation of an historical actor's beliefs, actions, motives intentions and articulations, set firmly in the context of their historical period. This is the imaginative approach where the student attempts to understand actions that arise as a result of the historical actor's thoughts. However, the student is only able to call upon their own experience to understand the historical actor if there is sufficient similarity of experience. It is not likely that they will have had similar experiences to 'great historical figures' such as the Emperor Claudius, although this might not necessarily apply to the experiences of anonymous people in the past.

Problems with the 'Imaginative Method'

The 'Imaginative Method' can lead to re-constructions of the past such as those advocated by Ohn (2010:54) where non-specialists create fictional narratives such as diary entries. According to Brooks (2008, 2011:169) this offers the student

a chance to engage in inferential thinking but is often contended because it can also lead to de-contextualised thinking that promotes speculative or potentially false conclusions. This iteration of imaginative Historical Empathy (HE) may have led to teacher techniques such the type of role-play activities highlighted by Pellegrino, Lee and D'Erizans (2012) that could be construed as being almost entirely imaginary.

Dillenberg (2017:3) observed that well-intentioned teachers incorporated HE into lessons to deepen the connection between school pupils and historical figures but that they sometimes missed the mark through using a poor methodology. She observed (p.8) that this was often incorporated into their teaching in an unguided and emotional way. Davison (2017:149) had pointed out that history educators had seen Historical Empathy (HE) as a problem because it led to activities where students engaged in over identifying with historical characters and 'let's pretend...'. During this type of activity the student may be required to imagine they are in the trenches or having to 'write a letter home from the front...'. Consequently, several educationists (Retz, 2012:41; Yeager and Foster, 2001; Cooper, 1991; Levesque, 2008:152; Foster, 1999:19) claim that HE should not play out as an exercise in imagination, especially through strategies such as 'imagine you are...' or through over-identification with an historical character. Indeed, such strategies make no sense, unless they are brought to life from a re-enactable source. Interestingly Brooks (2008; 2011:169) found that writing in the first person, as if one were an historical character, was likely to involve de-contextualised thinking but did promote inferential thinking. On the other hand,

third person writing promoted thoughts about the accuracy of sources but detracted from a student's ability to think inferentially. Many ideas for imaginative engagement with past lives, such as the writing of biographical logs, drama, projective exercises in letter writing, re-enactment, imaginative (re)construction and the empathetic dilemma, are suggested by Shemilt (1984:67-74).

Possibilities of the 'progressive method.'

More 'progressive methods' of HE may allow students to engage in deeper and more natural thinking about past lives. Such strategies may also allow the students to engage in making contextualised historical judgements and achieve the kind of perspective recognition advocated by Barton and Levstik (2004:33). During this type of reasoning the student may recognise that it is difficult to take on another's perspective but can engage with the 'sense of otherness' portrayed by the historical figure. This approach leads to the kind of work reported by Endacott and Sturtz (2015). They discussed a project where, through a close contextual analysis of Athenian lives, school pupils were able to gain enough knowledge to place themselves alongside the historical figure. This was a closeness that allowed them to draw conclusions and make inferences about the historical figure's actions. In this iteration of HE the student may not need to call upon their own experience to view the historical actor. This offers a chance for the student to draw upon a dynamic range of evidence to gain multiple perspectives (Rantala, Manninen, and Van-den-Berg 2016:323-324) about the

experience of the historical actor. Such a dynamic approach raised questions about whether it is possible to support this kind of reasoning through using artefacts as evidence. It was felt that this may be the case for two reasons. Firstly, considering the artefact as evidence of the reality of the past may actually engage the student in thinking about perspective. This is because many artefacts make it clear that the past was different to the present; a dolly tub is very different to a washing machine, for instance. Secondly, and in contrast to the first point, an artefact may allow the student to call upon their own experience in deciphering it. For instance, some artefacts may be recognisable or even familiar, such as a Roman dice. Others may have familiar features such as a handle, for instance that of a Roman amphora. Using artefacts as evidence also appeared to be attractive for students and 'Rosie', a highly articulate first-class student, offered the view that it was hard to learn anything that was real about past lives through what she called 'flat paper.' It is, however, difficult to find serious scholarship within the field of Historical Empathy (HE) that advocate evidential strategies that extend beyond 'Rosie's 'flat paper'. Even strategies which purport to offer more progressive approaches to HE, such as the work of D'Adamo and Fallance (2011:75-88) seem timid in this respect. They used what they called a multi-genre approach which called upon a range of sources and activities to allow engagement with multiple perspectives. However, even their work did not run to the use of artefacts and visits.

1.2.v. Do progressive forms of Historical Empathy (HE) have the potential to solve its problems?

Dillenberg (2017:12 & 6) argues that early work such as that of Lee (1984) offers a view of Historical Empathy (HE) as being almost purely cognitive and this sits alongside other early work (prior to 2001) that offered a potentially ungrounded and emotional view of the concept. She explains that after 2001 practitioners who had researched student's perspective-taking abilities (for instance Barton and Levstik, 2004) have shown that it could enrich their ability to think historically. Dillenberg also offers a view that effective HE uses both the cognitive and affective components (pp. 5,12 -13). She cites the work of Bryant and Clark (2006) that affective HE invites students to use their own experiences of the world to understand the beliefs and experiences of the historical agent. Finally, she cites the work of Endacott, (2010:10) that on engaging with HE one is recognising the shared humanity of the past.

Affective HE, therefore, offers the possibility that engagement with historical figures may be more natural or organic. It seems that whilst earlier writers such as Lee and Ashby (2001:24) argued that feelings do not belong in the sphere of HE, this later work such as Endacott and Brooks (2013) argued that feelings are a key part of human behaviour and that we can contrast our own feelings with those of the historical actor. These arguments also seem to reflect the work of Collingwood (1946:239) who thought that historians can use their experience of the world to think about the interpretation of sources. Indeed, this affective domain of Historical Empathy (HE) is seen as emphasising skills and insights which

can then be applied to understanding the feelings of an historical figure and allow the putative historian to know them better (Barton and Levstik, 2004, Van Sledright, 2001). Barton and Levstik (2013:8) also equate this dimension of Historical Empathy (HE) with an identification stance, which often leads to thoughts about ourselves in relation to others.

Recent research, then, has suggested that some aspects of cognitive and affective HE may be possible and more natural for emergent learners. The research has also suggested that it may be possible to overcome the problems of presentism and that progressive approaches to historical imagination may allow the concept of Historical Empathy (HE) to become useful for non-specialist students of history.

1.3 The Rationale for constructing a new concept that describes the natural ways students engage with past lives

1.3.i Need for a new concept for connecting with people in the past

The problem with HE

The need for re-thinking HE as a way of conceptualising how students think about past lives was originally laid out in 1989. Then it was noted that the HE debate was important because it opened new questions about how far we can historically know the past. The 1989 debate highlighted the possibility that many of the themes which may be central to forming a new model of how students think about past lives. For instance, Cairns (1989:13-17) implied that an understanding of the reality of the past was very important. He wrote that *‘the centrality of bringing the past to life, must be stressed. This is of tremendous value*

since it is the passport to gaining a genuine entry into the past, a foreign land and something distinct from our own but also brings awareness of the common humanity we share with other times'. He also thought that there was no age limit or ability limit to the possibility of bringing the past to life in this way. How this may be done, he said, requires thinking about making connections with the past in a new way. Low-Beer, (1989:8-12) had observed that psychologically, HE was often discussed as a problem of motivating or involving school pupils, but at the time there were no well-worked practical research studies on how to assess its affective qualities within learning. The teaching of HE, she said, was based on little research and it still appears to be so – even today. Jenkins and Brickley (1989) endorsed such a view, explaining that the thrust for empathy in schools emerged through educational theories of relevance and personal involvement that initially lived in primary school practice. They asserted that *'The imaginative leaps demanded of children'* made them feel involved. They went on to advise that children should be asked questions such as: *'What do you think of the past? What is history to you? What is your explanation?'* Thus, the thrust of historical instruction moved away from content and towards process and the skills within which personal constructs can play. This was well suited the age of 'problem solving' in schools. Low-Beer (1989) explained that a vast range of feelings, including empathy, are intrinsic to the human condition, and develop throughout life as we respond to situations and reflect on our reactions. Feelings, she said, are largely phenomenological, grounded in experience rather more than is thought and it is not easy to separate what is learnt cognitively from the moment

when it may become an empathetic understanding. She also pointed out that such an engagement with emotions is problematic if it becomes a matter of planning, direction, or practice. This is because it encourages manipulation of feelings.

The problem with HE is that in its essence it is a hotchpotch of ideas. These are ideas that originated with elements of Collingwood's work that have subsequently been blended with the thoughts of educators and the language of psychology.

This fusion is often unsuccessful for three structural reasons. Firstly, Collingwood's philosophy was about how established historians may think about past lives. This means that Collingwood's level of thinking may be very difficult for students to achieve. Secondly, educators have often fastened on to ideas around, for instance, the historical imagination to make the study of historical lives more attractive. This has led to imaginative work that is not historical and does not enhance the student ability to think about past lives. Thirdly, the language of psychology has been borrowed from and adapted to suit the needs of historical educators. However, in doing this they have often misunderstood the complexity of the psychology itself. They have also, often failed to fully understand the true psychological relationship that we may have with past historical lives. This will be argued more fully in the sections below.

Through this long debate, however, new possibilities have emerged. This section explores ways in which a better understanding of natural thinking may allow students of history to more readily engage with people who lived in past times.

1.3.ii The term Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR)

The term 'Organic Historical Reasoning' (OHR) is offered as a description of the various sets of reasoning a student may deploy in thinking about past lives. This may be a combination of the student's natural affinity for viewing past lives in combination with thinking acquired through education. It may involve the deployment of psychological empathy (Ψ_e) including some cognitive and progressive elements of HE and other psychological mechanisms. In this context it is also seen as reflecting both the student's own disposition for thinking about historical actors and for describing the way they refer to background knowledge that has been acquired through their life. The phrase 'organic' reflects Collingwood's (1946:300) use of the word as describing the act of thinking as an organic part of the thinker's life.

1.3.iii Opportunities for Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR)

students are unlikely to be a blank historical canvas and will often have ideas of their own that are naturally acquired long before they engage in historical instruction. A variety of activities such as T.V. programmes, games, play, stories, visits, conversations with parents and relatives may already have given them strongly historical ideas and led to the early development of an organic and natural historical imagination. Such historical imagination may inform part of the student's thinking during Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR). A student's 'organic' background in relation to history may be far more complex than is

generally thought. These factors may align with elements of HE, when thinking about past lives. For example, Cooper (2012:162-4) tells us how a former student, Hannah Dewfall, said that it was her delight in historical fiction that had fueled her enjoyment of history. There are of course many other ways in which a natural imaginative enjoyment of history can arise within education; through imagination and play (Robson, 2004:41-51) and through imagination and story (Farmer and Heeley, 2004:51-53). Story is clearly part of a culture for exploring history that can be seen in school; for instance, Levstik (1986) and Levstik and Pappas (1992:376) noted that the use of historical story in elementary school elicited strong interest from the school pupils. Indeed, Hawkey (2004) and Phillips (2002:63) discussed some of the benefits of story in history which included making interpretations more meaningful, improving school pupils' capacity to learn, socializing children into a wider world and allowing them access to the values and experiences of their elders.

We cannot also ignore the long tradition of using story-telling which has existed outside of school. A tradition which has clearly influenced the discipline of history itself may reflect an organic and natural curiosity about past lives. Such stories range from the seemingly historical tales of Homer, (Reiu 1978:11) to the Roman historian Tacitus (56-120 CE), who tells a history of the early Roman Imperial Age, which was contemporary (to himself) (Wellesley 1972:13-15). Woolf (2005:36) also explains how, during the late Medieval and early Renaissance, reading of history's story was engaged with for the purposes of moral edification and

entertainment and writers such as Shakespeare drew from the works of Raphael Holinshed (1529-1580) as inspirations for history plays.

1.3.iv Confusion of current practice in history teaching in primary schools

There is a need to understanding natural and organic thinking about past lives because the approach to history employed in schools, especially in primary schools, often seems to be a muddle of imagination, psychology, HE and other approaches to history. Thus, questions like: 'Why do you think... Claudius invaded Britain' or 'imagine you are... a Medieval peasant, or an Athenian woman' are often proposed (Lee, Dickenson and Ashby, 1997; Cunningham 2007 p.604; Endacott and Sturtz, 2015) but may be too complex or too fanciful. The natural thinking of students as they encounter these and other historical activities such as role-play (Wallace 2011) is not well understood. Indeed, the debate around HE has often become mired with misunderstanding, particularly in the field of education, because history educators have used strategies derived from the concept of HE, that can promote a potentially false or speculative imagining of the past. These false imaginings can be characterised by situations where children are asked to role-play or imagine being a Tudor child, evacuee or perhaps a Roman on Hadrian's Wall. Cooper (1991:35) argued that generating such imaginary pictures of past lives is not a good way to investigate history because children will inevitably impose their own present-day mind-set onto past lives.

1.4 Construction of a new concept; Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR)

First, section 1.4 discusses psychological empathy (Ψ_e) as defined by psychologists, which is discrete from the general concept of Historical Empathy (HE) posited by the followers of R.G. Collingwood. It is argued that everyone is capable of psychological empathy (Ψ_e) because this is hardwired in the human brain. Possible areas of overlap between Ψ_e and Cognitive and Affective Historical Empathy (HE) are explored, which may be accessible to emergent learners and contribute to the construction of a new concept which more closely represents a student's natural thinking about past lives. Then other aspects of HE are explored through the lens of psychology to consider ways in which they may be achievable for students. These are combined with the aspects of Historical Empathy (HE) discussed to posit the sub-concepts of Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR).

1.4.i Psychological empathy (Ψ_e)

Psychological empathy is a hardwired trait

It is argued here that everyone is capable of Ψ_e as described by psychologists. Psychological empathy (Ψ_e) is a key tool of human socialisation. It is a multidimensional human trait. Specifically, it is an evolved trait that is hardwired into the human (and animal) brain, which means that for most humans its deployment is a natural part of behaviour. The trait is deployed during engagement with 'others' and both in preparation for, and during interaction with others. It can also be deployed when musing about past or future encounters

and can be both conscious and unconscious. At its most basic it may be a fast response alignment such as smiling to return a smile or a reaction to a thrown ball and in its most sophisticated forms we may be musing over another's thoughts and feelings.

Psychological empathy (Ψ_e) is a natural disposition

The reason psychological empathy (Ψ_e) matters in terms of our interaction with the lives of historical others is that the deployment of Ψ_e is an entirely natural part of human behaviour and may form a key component of the proposed new concept of OHR. Indeed, it is also notable that it is natural for us to muse on the past actions, motives, beliefs and articulations of past historical figures and, therefore, its role within HE may have been previously misunderstood.

To show that empathy is a natural disposition we must examine how it has developed as an evolved trait and also think about its prevalence as a behaviour. The field of socio-biology was originally developed by E.O. Wilson to explain the development of human behaviour through natural selection, (Wilson 1978) and is a useful way of conceptualising the usefulness of Ψ_e as a human skill. Whilst it has been a controversial field, (see Pinker 1999) the key to understanding socio-biology is in thinking through the function that a behaviour serves and the evolutionary process which has led to it. Thus, in socio-biological terms Ψ_e would have increased the biological fitness of our early human ancestors as they wandered the plains of Africa or took part in hunting and gathering by allowing individuals to work as part of a group. Later work by Christov-Moore et al.

(2014:604) shows that Ψ_e has two roles within the related and more modern field of evolutionary biology, where it is seen as promoting pro-social and cooperative behaviour through enhancing the ability to predict the behaviour of others. Therefore, this is a deeply embedded behaviour that is widely present in both the human and animal sphere. For instance, a study on pro-social empathetic behaviour in rats conducted by Mason (2011) found that the rats released their fellows from a cage for no reward and in some cases they even shared food that they had released from another cage. The rats responded to what they term the conspecific's (others) distress. This is said to provide strong evidence for the evolutionary biological roots of Ψ_e . Sensitivity to a conspecific's distress appears in other areas of the animal kingdom too (Sanders et al. 2013). Consolation is widely shown throughout the animal kingdom such as in dogs (Cools et al. 2008). The prevalence of Ψ_e is also known through the existence of a mirror mechanism, apparent in both vertebrates and even invertebrates (Fogassi, 2014) that allows for sensory information to be elaborated for social cognition. The fact that it is also present in early infancy, (Alexander and Wilcox 2012) shows that it is both an instinctual and developmental social tool in humans.

Indeed, this evolved disposition of (Ψ_e) is known as a hardwired trait because it has a demonstrable presence in the architecture of the human brain. For instance, Christov-Moore et al. (2014:604) state that the preconscious affective mechanisms which underlie the sharing and mimicry of others' states and behaviours are broadly mapped to activity in the temporal and subcortical regions of the brain. Singer et al. (2008:782) also discussed the reliability of

experiments which showed that the affective components of the brain's pain matrix, the anterior insula and the anterior cingulate cortex, are activated not only when pain is administered to the subjects themselves but also when pain is administered to their partners. Singer et al. (2013) went on to show that if the right supermarginal gyrus is damaged then humans lose their capacity for Ψ_e . Similarly, Marsh (2018:110-115) explains that participants who are reflecting on emotional suffering through written narratives show activity in cortical regions (the temporoparietal junction, precuneus, medial prefrontal cortex and amygdala), which are involved in mentalizing.

It is known that the propensity to engage in Ψ_e is variable. For instance, dispositional towards Ψ_e may also be related to factors such as personality, gender, personal circumstances and even individual factors related to the time in which the reasoning took place. Thompson and Voyer, (2014), Stevens and Haman (2012), Christov-Moore et al. (2014) and Mesch et al. (2006) have all shown gender links in the ability to empathise. Our ability to empathise may also be influenced by how we are feeling at a particular moment in time. Devlin, Zaki, Ong and Gruber (2014:1-2) and Schumann, Zaki and Dweck (2014) suggest that Ψ_e can break down when the experience is difficult. Baetens, Raemakers, Baetens and Hogelst (2014:1-6) and Zaki, Bolger and Ochsner (2008) have also shown that individuals with sub-clinical autism suffer from reduced levels of empathetic accuracy and this increases with the spectrum. However, it is important to reflect that whilst levels of Ψ_e differ the disposition remains a component of human behaviour at all levels.

This means that Ψ_e is a hard-wired component of the brain and is widely present across human behaviour. Therefore, it may comprise a significant and sometimes unconscious component of both HE and OHR. The next part of this investigation will, therefore, centre on investigating how the deployment of psychological empathy (Ψ_e) might affect our viewing of past historical lives.

1.4.ii The overlap between Psychological Empathy (Ψ_e) and Historical Empathy (HE)

Reframing mindsets.

Psychological Empathy (Ψ_e) may be linked to HE in that it has a function in terms of reacting to, predicting and understanding (or within HE thinking about) the behaviour of others.

Lockwood, Seara-Cardoso and Viding (2014) describe pro-social behaviour as 'social behaviour intended to benefit another with genetically unrelated individuals' and show that it is linked to psychological empathy (Ψ_e). Christov-Moore et al. (2014:604) and Mason (2011) describe Ψ_e as a cooperative behaviour which serves a function in terms of predicting and aligning one's own behaviour with others and Roberts, Strayer and Denham (2014) show the presence of Ψ_e may have benefits to society as well as the individual. HE may be seen as similar in terms of being an effortful response to an awareness of (often) genetically unrelated others, (we deploy cognitive resource to engage in it). HE is linked to Ψ_e and also has a function in terms of predicting, understanding or reacting to (or thinking about) the presence and behaviour of others. It also

allows for the alignment of emotion between individuals and consequently we may be affected by the plight of others whom we do not know.

Thus, psychological empathy (Ψ_e) can enable non-specialist students of history to reflect on the behaviour of others, to form affective links through reframing their mind-set, in ways which reflect the organic or natural components of Historical Empathy (HE).

1.4.iii Variation in alignment between Historical Empathy (HE) and psychological empathy (Ψ_e)

Whilst the vocabulary of HE and Ψ_e may be similar not everybody agrees that it represents the same thing. For example, Carril, Sánchez-Augustí and Miguel-Revilla (2017) examined the deployment of HE and Ψ_e during a teaching activity with 119 primary pre-service teaching students. They found that there was no statistical correlation between the two processes – in other words they were unable to demonstrate a connection between Ψ_e and HE. Consequently, it is my intention to show that whilst this may be true in respect of the actions, motives, beliefs and articulations of a figure such as the British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, at the outset of WWII (as they used), it may not be the case when an historical life is encountered that seems more familiar to the student, or one that is less clearly defined in the distant past. For instance, Murray (2002) discussed a project where he used Raymond Brigg's story of his parents 'Earnest and Ethel' to teach Y 9 school pupils about the changes in the 20th century. He did this because he argued that the big events of history become more accessible

through the lives of real but more ordinary people – that ‘...*the holocaust becomes imaginable through the life of Anne Frank*’ (Murray 2002: 21). Such an instructional approach appears to suggest that Ψ_e may play a role in viewing past lives.

Examples in alignment between HE and Ψ_e

It is natural or hardwired for us to deploy psychological empathy (Ψ_e) when encountering another person, even when they are not present. The deployment of Ψ_e allows for both conscious and unconscious reactions and reflections on that presence and guides our own actions in response. Psychological empathy (Ψ_e) will also allow us to reflect on past and future encounters.

Therefore, in thinking about the assertion by Carril, Sánchez-Augustí and Miguel-Revilla (2017) that there is no alignment between Historical Empathy (HE) and psychological empathy (Ψ_e) we may ask the question, ‘does the disposition for Ψ_e serve any useful purpose with respect to HE?’ Here I will argue that such a deployment would be related to the context and the character of the evidence provided. As an example of this I have, during my teaching, often asked students to examine the diary entries below to see if they can discover anything about the emotions of Bernard Hoblyn and Harriet Arbuthnot.

Bernard Hoblyn’s War Diaries: 8-6-1941 (see artefact 17, appendix I).

Half day today. Improvised surgery on the drome today. I found a house-martin all covered with tar substance used on the ‘drome’. This rendered wings and tail completely inoperative, so I washed it carefully with a drop

of 230 and put it back where I found it. Went back an hour later and it had gone. It's marvellous how they fly and manage to live at all; they're such fragile and delicate things beautifully made.

Bernard Hoblyn's War diaries: 11-6-41

One helluva day. Oxfords and Ansons flying together in one big mix up. Grass cutting in progress on the 'drome' – found out late last night that our poor little larks had been ruthlessly mown down in the process. The mother bird was wandering around in search for her young only 3 days old. How much wildlife is destroyed during the reaping and harvesting no one can tell

In their analyses the students will often highlight sentences that they think show that Hoblyn sounds lonely and perhaps even a bit sad. Later in the same lecture I will then ask students to read the very different diary extract below. When I ask students whether they think Harriet Arbuthnot is telling the truth they often provide convincing reasons as to why they believe she is lying. This leads us to examining the debate about whether she was having an affair with the Duke of Wellington.

Harriet Arbuthnot wrote in her journal on 24 April 1824: Mr. Arbuthnot & I have been greatly annoyed by another anonymous letter accusing me of being in love with the Duke of Wellington, of being always in holes and corners with him, & of being so jealous of him that I never can bear him to speak to any other woman! Luckily my dear husband & I live upon terms

of such affection & confidence that these base insinuations have only the effect of making us abhor the wicked feelings which could prompt anyone to write such a letter.

history.blog.gov.uk/2015/01/12/harriet-arbuthnot-and-the-vortex-of-politics/ accessed
23/09/2015

These diary entries provide us with a clearer view of the intersection between Ψ_e and HE. In these two encounters with authentic evidence the students appear to engage in reasoning which is both naturally empathetic and reflects the process of HE to gain small insights into past historical lives. However, more cognitive approaches such as asking school pupils to reflect on the motives of Claudius for his invasion of Britain in 43CE, as Lee, Dickenson and Ashby did (1997:233-5), may be wholly different to the examples above. For in this exploration of Claudius' motives the student may be unable to draw upon their own mind-set and experience in thinking about the complex situation facing a Roman Emperor who wishes to secure his position by invading another country.

Examining the diary entries appears to demonstrate that, in this instance, Ψ_e is naturally deployed alongside HE. In examining so-called 'great lives' HE appears to be used alone as part of a cognitive or imaginative exercise where the 'historian' is reflecting upon multiple strands of evidence to make a reasoned and possibly counter-intuitive judgement about actions, motives, beliefs and articulations of past historical figures. A study by Endacott and Sturtz (2015:3-14) is insightful in this respect and may help in forming ideas about the balance between the possibilities offered by both Ψ_e and HE.

Endacott and Sturtz noted the benefits of affective and cognitive HE in achieving curricular goals relating to subject matter, historical skills, its deeper dispositional benefits and traits in terms of sharing in normalcies (through seeing historical figures as human beings who faced similar struggles to those that we do today). They also saw other values such as identifying contexts, change, continuity and an understanding of the complexity of life in the past. Affective and cognitive HE, they said, allowed the student to make moral judgements and face ethical issues which help them to internalise enduring understandings. The teacher they studied used 'think alouds' placed on Google Drive and Video Stimulated Recall (VSR) to explain her pedagogical reasoning during her teaching, which involved thinking about decisions made by the Athenian assembly during the Peloponnesian Wars with Sparta. The school pupils were familiar with some of the writings of Socrates, Aristotle and Plato and the teacher was quick to tell the school pupils when they were being 'presentist,' (Brophy and Allerman 2003) in their judgements of the Greeks and Romans. We should note that the teacher acknowledged that it was difficult to debate women's rights and slavery in Athens because the school pupils were unable to shake of their 'presentist' beliefs in this context. She used her school pupils' affective connection to the Athenians to allow them to make reasoned and insightful judgements that led to enduring understanding. She also felt that she was able to push her school pupils towards higher order and reflective thinking and cited the example of a boy who was able to sustain a sophisticated dialogue about the role of Athenian women and prostitutes. She took advantage of the intersection between HE and enduring

understanding by unpacking historical nuances incorporating first person sources and scaffolding school pupils through each teaching phase. What the Endacott and Sturtz study (2015) may be showing is an interaction with history where the student may be able to moderate HE by the use of Ψ_e . In other words, they may be using Ψ_e as a guide to thinking about Athenian lives whilst beginning to understand that in the context of the times the actions, motives, beliefs and articulations of an historic figure may have been entirely different.

We may thus begin to consider that it is possible for students to deploy Ψ_e to gain natural insights into historical lives through an appeal to authentic evidence required by HE. However, it may also be possible for the student to engage in formal reasoning about past lives which appeals to authentic evidence and matches the requirements for HE in gaining insights into past actions, motives, beliefs and articulations which are not dependent upon Ψ_e . We may postulate, therefore, that whilst pure HE is almost always formal or academic reasoning, a balance of Ψ_e and HE could constitute what we may term, natural organic and academic thinking. In other words, Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR) may comprise both HE and Ψ_e .

1.4.iv Psychological Empathy (Ψ_e) as a reward

Engaging with the presence of others through Ψ_e can be shown to provide intrinsic rewards, which means it is more likely that humans as social beings will engage in it. This may also indicate that deploying some components of HE which,

as I demonstrated above, are similar to Ψ_e , may be rewarding for students as they engage in OHR.

Lockwood, Seara-Cardoso and Viding (2014:1-2) describe a number of methods used to identify empathetic dispositional concern and these include cardiovascular measures (a decrease in heart rate indicating sadness and sympathy).

They note a model proposed by Eisenberg and Fabes (1992) who show that 'cognitive reappraisal' and 'expressive suppression' are key strategies in our empathetic response to others. Both mechanisms may offer an insight into how we think about past lives. During 'cognitive reappraisal' the emotional response is reinterpreted so that the impact of an empathetic response is modified – in other words this is achieved through re-framing one's mind-set to support or care about a person in a distressing situation. Reacting in this way has benefits for the onlooker as it decreases negative effects of the encounter and results in an attenuation of blood pressure. This offers a real insight into why engaging emotionally with a distressing historical situation may feel like a good thing to do. By contrast 'expressive suppression' inhibits emotion-expressive behaviour. In this case a person will manage their emotional response to a difficult situation in an effortful manner (consuming cognitive resources) and cause a conflict between arousal and suppression of emotional arousal, which will mean that remaining in an objective frame of mind about an historically difficult situation may be more effortful and challenging for the non-specialist student historian.

Lockwood, Seara-Cardoso and Viding (2014:1-2) also show that using 'cognitive reappraisal' is positively related to having closer relationships with friends, less

depression and greater life satisfaction than those who use expressive suppression. In other words, we may enjoy engaging in OHR about historical lives because it makes us feel good. However, it may cause us stress to engage dispassionately with such lives and ignore the affective elements of what we see.

1.4.v The possible link between HE, Ψ_e and OHR

Assumptions, such as those made by Sánchez-Augustí and Miguel-Revilla (2017) and Retz (2015:215) that HE and Ψ_e are different since reciprocity is not possible because there is historical distance between subjects may be incorrect. However, I will argue below that reciprocity is not a pre-requisite because the deployment of psychological empathy (Ψ_e) in the absence of a response (or even presence) of another person is entirely normal. For example, Christov-Moore et al. (2014:604-7) point out that we, as humans, can internally evoke the emotions and sensations of a present or even an absent other (or even our own selves at another point in time). Marsh (2018) shows that such Ψ_e confers the ability to think about the behaviour of others even through written sources.

Christov-Moore et al. (2014:604-7) also demonstrates that Ψ_e involves deliberative processes, which they call mentalizing, that lead to inferences about another's bodily and affective states, beliefs and intentions which are broadly mapped to cognitive Ψ_e . In thinking about how this dimension of Ψ_e may equate to HE we may recall the words of Ohn (2010) who describes it as a potentially powerful tool which can offer the possibility of imaginative and interpretative

thinking about past lives, or those words of Collingwood (1946:300) when he describes the re-thinking of Plato's thoughts.

Smith (2006:4-8), Christov-Moore et al. (2014:604-7) and Singer et al. (2013) also show that affective Ψ_e involves unconscious (or pre-reflective) processes which can be modulated both consciously and unconsciously and allow for the sharing and mimicry of the states of others who need not be present. This aligns broadly with assertions that there is a domain of HE where the thoughts and acts of the historical actor are connected to their affective situation (Rantala, Manninen and Van-den-Berg, 2016:324-345). This domain of HE also involves insights, which can be applied to understand the feelings of an historical figure and allow the putative historian to know them better (Barton and Levstik, 2004; Van Sledright, 2001). Barton and Levstik (2013:8) equate this dimension of HE with an identification stance. Such a stance is the element of the disposition whereby people reflect on or identify with the emotions of the historical figure.

The possible link between Historical Empathy (HE) and psychological empathy (Ψ_e) demonstrates that a process of natural reasoning about past lives such as Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR) may encompass aspects of both conceptions of empathy. The non-specialist history student may achieve this by forming naturally affective connections to the historical figure, through both engaging their own imagination and musing on their motives and actions. This study is not intended to focus upon strategies that deliberately promote cognitive HE but instead will allow the subject to engage in their own natural musings (OHR) about the historical figures they encounter. It may, therefore, be that through

understanding that Ψ_e is often a non-reciprocal state the problems of perspective discussed may be lessened. This is because it is possible to understand that through engaging in Ψ_e we may automatically have a conception that others are different to us.

1.4.vi Cognitive dimensions of Psychological Empathy (Ψ_e): recognising deceit, beliefs and intentions

The second dimension of Ψ_e that is most commonly debated is the cognitive or reflective element. In HE the cognitive element is most often associated with thoughts and understanding actions whilst the affective element is most often associated with emotions and caring for past figures. However, within the field of psychology this distinction is not so straightforward.

In the most basic sense during the cognitive dimension of Ψ_e our reaction to the other is modulated through reflection. This is highly significant in terms of equating HE, OHR and Ψ_e because Ψ_e is often modulated by reflection as we muse about encounters with others. Smith (2006:4-8) for instance, sees Ψ_e as a highly complex behaviour and explains that cognitive Ψ_e enhances social functioning through enabling us to understand and predict the behaviour of others. It is a disposition that can let us manipulate or deceive others and allows us the chance to realise when they are doing the same (as in the case of Harriet Arbuthnot' journal, in section 1.4.iii). Smith (2006:8) also proposes that Cognitive Empathy (CE) and affective Ψ_e are part of an integrated mechanism, where CE helps manage affective Ψ_e processes and affective Ψ_e guides and regulates the

use of CE. Christov-Moore et al. (2014:604-7) explain that such deliberative processes, which they call mentalizing, lead to inferences about other's bodily and affective states, beliefs and intentions, are broadly mapped to cognitive Ψ_e . In other words, CE allows us to think and reason not only about the actions of others but their emotive state as well.

Lee and Shemilt (2011:39) make the point that empathetic imaginings can be seen as a '*warm and affective counterbalance*' to cerebral (cognitive) engagement with historical evidence. This statement seems to suggest that this so called '*warm and affective*' engagement is less sophisticated than the logical contemplations of the formal historian, but it may be the case that the reflective deployment of cognitive Ψ_e draws upon a natural lexicon of human skills which is integrated and highly sophisticated.

1.4.vii Interplay of cognitive and affective Ψ_e

It may, therefore, be the case that many commentators on HE have misunderstood the interplay between the two elements of the disposition, through assuming that there is a strong separation of the co-called cognitive and affective elements (Endacott and Brooks, 2013:41; Endacott and Sturtz 2015; Dillenber, 2017:5; Rantala, Manninen and Van-den-Berg, 2016:324; Davis, 2001:3; Lee, Dickenson and Ashby, 1997; Barton and Levstik, 2013:8 & 2004). They may be incorrect in this assumption because within Ψ_e the cognitive element often involves a process of reflecting or mentalizing on emotive Ψ_e through what have been termed '*shared brain networks*' (Kanske et al. 2015). In

other words, the natural process of empathising can often involve reflecting on the affective state of others.

Lastly, it is notable that some psychological studies, such as that by Marsh (2018) and Kanske et al. (2015), have involved subjects viewing autobiographical and written narratives. This also demonstrates that the difficulty in separating Ψ_e and HE cannot be attributed to the fact that much of the historical teaching the students may encounter is centred on written narrative or past events.

1.5 Other aspects of recent research in psychology which may form components of Organic Historical Reasoning.

1.5.i Shared brain networks and OHR

More clearly understanding how affective and cognitive emotive states are represented during cognitive Ψ_e may help us develop a clearer understanding of how natural reasoning forms a part of thinking about past lives. Kanske et al. (2015:6-19) remark on the complexity of understanding others through sharing emotions and reflecting on their thoughts. This is achieved through what they term '*shared brain networks*' which underlie the ability to engage in Ψ_e . They point out that both ToM (Theory of Mind) and cognitive perspective taking (which is similar to cognitive/emotional Ψ_e) imply reasoning about the beliefs, thoughts and emotions of others. However, they describe the difference between ToM and cognitive perspective-taking as that the former yields propositional knowledge about another's state whilst Ψ_e allows for the sharing of another's affective and bodily state. Marsh (2018:110-115) notes that there is a clear distinction between

emotional Ψ_e and mentalizing (the act of cognitive Ψ_e and ToM). Marsh discussed the interplay between the different elements of the disposition. Empathetic concern, she tells us, is the pro-social element of the disposition for Ψ_e where we engage in caring and concern; it is in effect the altruistic element. This is not synonymous with emotional or cognitive Ψ_e and is activated through distinct cortical pathways. It may be particularly important in terms of this study that Marsh (2018) was reporting on subjects who are responding to autobiographical narratives of events. She noted that viewing but not internalising negative events activated the anterior insula and mid-cingulate gyrus whilst mental state inferences led to activity in the mentalizing networks mentioned in the section above. Smith (2006:8) makes a similar observation to that of Marsh (2018) who states that the two central elements of Ψ_e form an integrated mechanism, which can lead to altruistic motivation. Marsh also comments that, whilst the mechanism is unknown, it is thought that negative social inputs (such as responses to autobiographical and other suffering) are translated into positive pro-social motivation.

Thus, it may be that the propensity to engage in Ψ_e during HE is very high because doing so activates '*shared brain networks*' which are highly evolved to allow for musing on the bodily and affective states of others. It may also be that Theory of Mind (ToM) and cognitive Ψ_e allows for insights into the behaviour of others that are similar in character to HE.

A summary of psychological empathy (Ψ_e).

Writers such as (Kanske et al., 2015; Singer and Tusche, 2013; Singer et al 2008; Marsh, 2018; Smith, 2006; Christov-Moore et al., 2014) have helped to form a clearer idea about the complex disposition which has often been termed 'empathy.' Empathy is a disposition which is deployed when 'others' are encountered. The encounter can be either in reality or through other links such as written accounts. A dimension of this encounter may be termed pre-reflective (unconscious) and can often lead to a resonance or a 'coupling' with the feelings of the 'other.' This resonance may also lead to a person engaging in displaying some kind of care for the 'other.' This resonance is often seen as the 'affective' component of empathy.

The affective component of empathy stands in relation to what is often seen as the 'cognitive' component of empathy. In this cognitive dimension a person may be musing about the thoughts, feelings and actions of the 'other.' The cognitive dimension appears to be related to Theory of Mind (ToM). ToM allows a person to understand that the thoughts and feelings of the 'other' may be different to their own. It is related to having more abstract and propositional thoughts about the mental state of the 'other'. The cognitive component of empathy is related to ToM and allows for musing or a reflection on the feelings of an 'other.'

Thus, within the disposition of 'empathy' or (Ψ_e) as described above we may muse about the bodily and affective state of the 'other.' Secondly, we may also understand that their thoughts and feelings may be different to our own and finally we may resonate with or display care for the plight of the 'other.'

1.5.ii Understanding different perspectives and OHR

As has been shown above there may be a link between Ψ_e , HE and (potentially) OHR as a way of thinking about past historical lives. However, there may be a problem with assuming that psychological concepts can automatically apply to historical thinking. This is because of the problems of perspective that were noted by writers such as Brophy and Allerman (2003:108). It may be useful, therefore, to understand how natural thinking can encompass notions of difference that may help to overcome the problems of perspective.

Some lives may be more difficult to engage with because they inhabited a different zone of consciousness (Rifkin 2010). In other words, more distant lives may be more difficult to engage with without falling into Retz's (2015:221) '*abyss of relativism*'. The problem of perspective may be thought of as having two components and these relate to difference and similarity. Similarity relates to the sharing of a common humanity. Difference relates to the fact that the domain in which that past life was lived may be wholly or partly different from our own. I would like to argue that these connect to a concept of the difference between ourselves and those who we may think of as others. Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) sums this up rather nicely in the first verse of the following poem.

'We and They.'

Father, Mother and Me,

Sister and Aunty say,

All the people like us are We,

And everyone else is They.
And They live over the sea,
While We live over the way,
But – would you believe it? – They look upon We
As only a sort of They!

Thus, one of the great contradictions in HE is the tension between ‘imagine being’ and understanding difference. It is like having to think both, those people are like us, but they are not. When engaging in natural thinking about past lives, OHR students may be able to view them in the context of their own reality. Consequently, a life that appears more distant will look very different from their own but a closer one may have features that overlap with theirs. For example, an artefact such as an Achulean hand axe may make it obvious that a lower Palaeolithic life-style was vastly different from our own, whilst a 1987 Motorola 8500x phone (see artefacts 1 and 18, appendix 1) may seem amusingly familiar. However, in having an observable and relatable functionality both may promote ideas about the reality of past life. Dillenberg (2017) and Rifkin (2010) have given thought to how this might affect our perception of those past lives.

Rifkin (2010) makes the point that we humans, share this biosphere and are all dependent on the same geochemical processes. However, some lives were lived in very different domains and circumstances from others. In other words, both HE and Ψ_e are shaped by historical processes and knowledge and these can be placed in (zones) of consciousness. These zones allow for the perception that it may be more difficult to identify with lives lived within these different zones.

Rifkin (2010) therefore, postulates that one of the ways to understand the differences between present and past lives is through understanding the relationship of human consciousness to the (technological) age in which the life was lived. Therefore, he argues, great changes in human consciousness occur when new more complex energy regimes arise. He argues that forager-hunter societies were steeped in a mythological consciousness and that the hydraulic agricultural societies, (such as those in Mesopotamia, Sumeria and Egypt) which were organised around writing, became theologically conscious. Print technology during the coal and steam powered first industrial revolution led to a transformation between a theological and an ideological consciousness during the enlightenment. In the 20th century electronic communications and the oil and motor industries led to what may be termed a psychological consciousness and is the domain in which western modern lives are now lived. Rifkin (2010) then goes on to argue that Ψ_e in early societies was limited to tribal blood ties, in the agricultural era it became focussed on religious identification and with the industrial age and the rise of the nation states people began to empathise with their fellow citizens. Now, he says, we are extending this beyond our national boundaries. Rifkin (2010) makes a later point that, as humans, we are conditioned by our different cultural histories and through Ψ_e we can learn to become open-minded and take on other viewpoints.

Thus, it is possible that the Achulean hand axe makes it clear that the person who made it lived in a different zone of consciousness to our own. However, its evident workmanship and function make it clear that it was made by a human

who shared some of our characteristics. In deploying natural thinking about such an artefact, therefore, the student may become aware of their similarity to the historical figure whilst at the same time gaining a perspective that their life was different.

1.5.iii The 'other' person and OHR

There may be a further problem with forming an understanding that historical figures are different. This is because one of the tensions inherent in HE relates to the process of identifying with historical others. Identifying with historical lives, as we have discussed, may bring problems of judging them in a modern context (Barton and Levstik, 2004:33; Weinberg, 2001; Brophy and Alleman, 2003:108). However, a danger of not engaging with them in a human context can make it difficult to care about their existence (Barton and Levstik 2004).

A student quipped recently; *'Never ask anybody if they're from Yorkshire because if they are they'll already have told you.'* Indeed, it seems to be natural for a person to identify more closely with somebody they perceive as being familiar and, therefore, it needs to be investigated as to how this thinking may be encompassed within OHR. The problem is that, as Honigsbaum (2013) points out, people are kinder to those they view as human beings and once we make the imaginative leap into a person's shoes we become less capable of ignoring their suffering and by not ignoring their suffering we can form different judgements of them which may be based upon sympathy and care (Endacott and Brooks 2013:46). However, constraining students to see the historical figure as a distinct

'other', with whom we cannot identify, may also be a dangerous thing to do, most especially in the teaching of history. For instance, Castro (2015), Abdallah-Preteille (2002), Hogg, Kruglanski and van den Bos (2013:408-410) and Black, (2014) all discuss how a lack of identification with others can lead to the forming of extremist ideas. Thus, we may see past figures as unworthy of our attention and care because they are not the 'same' as 'us'.

Black (2014:7) considers the way in which identities are grounded in ethnicity, religion and gender. Like Ahonen (2001:180) he reminds us that group identity is a key feature of human society and the possibility that identities are imagined and constructed rather than inherent. History is part of our identity too and Black makes the point that it can be manipulated through instruments such as the National Curriculum. Black tells us that a sense of the past also comes through family. Here, he says, history overlaps with experience, a personal or collective experience about the past. His point is that values are inculcated through the family, and social norms and assumptions are assimilated in a similar manner. There is also, he says, a connection to ideas about memories of the family past, lineage, pure blood and genealogy. Families may even acquire a history to suit themselves and the present. He also makes the point that historical memory can be renewed or changed in the light of circumstance. A key point about OHR, therefore, may be the way in which the non-specialist student's own thoughts about family and personal history can be placed in the context of their learning. The reader may recall from the work of Rifkin (2010) that some lives are lived in different zones of historical consciousness, which relate to the technological age

in which they lived. It may be the case, therefore, that it is harder to make connections between our own lives and others where the domain of their existence seems particularly alien to our own. As Portal (1987:1043) points out it is not easy to empathise with those such as the Aztecs and their approach to human sacrifice.

Therefore, it may be that during OHR the student can demonstrate thoughts about perspective as they re-negotiate a picture of themselves in relation to past historical actors, particularly those with whom they feel close. This may cause us to think that during OHR the student may look for something which acknowledges the humanity of the past life – something with which they can identify. For example, the sweat marks under the arms of the Victorian dress (artefact 15, appendix I) may lead to thoughts about the real life of the woman who wore it. This then may lead students to think about their own relationship to the Victorian woman and lead them to care about that woman.

1.5.iv Reality, identification and OHR

I often (as part of my lecture series for pre-service teachers) ask the question – ‘*why study history?*’ Many answers are given, including ‘*so we can learn from our mistakes*’ but most often they centre on ‘*so we can find out about our past.*’ The word that is interesting here is the word ‘our’ and the connotation is that history somehow belongs to ‘us’; we have something to do with it. This is an important consideration in terms of OHR because it may involve the student in making some kind of connection to history.

Habib (2013:10-11) in answer to the question, 'why history' answers '*why then does an individual have a memory?*' and makes the point that without an understanding of events in time an individual cannot function. Habib then goes on to rationalize that history represents collective memory. Whilst, however, people cannot be certain about this collective memory Habib argues, it is important for it to correspond as far as is possible to the known facts. The discipline of history as an evidence-based subject emerges from this organization of the collective memory. If we accept the premise, therefore, that history somehow represents a version of a collective memory then it may be possible to engage in thinking about how an individual might respond to that collective memory and how they assimilate it into their own thinking during OHR. Part of this assimilation, therefore, needs to encompass a consciousness of the reality of the past. This may be through an emerging consciousness of our protracted existence and a relationship with the physics of time, in other words understanding history is about locating one's self in the reality of time. We as humans, therefore, somehow make sense of ourselves and the world we live in, and as part of this, encompass knowledge and a rationale (or an explanation) for our own existence.

In other words, we need to give thought to how the student may naturally assimilate the narrative of history and how they relate it to the reality of their own lives and beliefs. Bruner (1991:3-19) had thoughts on how we might do this and discussed it as a form of 'narrative construction'. He argued that cultural tool kits may have exerted selection pressures on the evolution of certain human

capacities. He says that these domains of intelligence that we have are not organised by logical principles or associative connections but those connected with human knowledge of themselves, their culture or their social world. Humans organise their experience and memory of 'human happenings' in the form of narratives and he lists these as stories, myths, excuses and reasons (both for doing and not doing). Bruner explains that narrative is transmitted culturally and constrained by an individual's mastery of it. Thus, unlike constructions that are generated by logical and scientific procedures and can detect falsification, narrative constructions can only achieve verisimilitude. Verisimilitude within narrative is, therefore, not just a way of representing reality. It is a way of constituting reality. He then discusses narrative diachronicity, where we understand the pattern of events over time as an ensemble of ways of constructing the sequential and diachronic order of human events. The time involved in such an understanding is not clock time but human time. Bruner also discusses narrative accrual, which from an anthropological sense, represents the way in which narratives may accrue to form a culture.

During 'Discourse' Descartes discusses the nature of thought and considers solipsism:

Next I examined attentively what I was. I saw that while I could pretend that I had no body and that there was no world and no place for me to be in, I could not for all that pretend that I did not exist. (6:32–3)

Bruner says that the best argument against solipsism (we cannot prove the existence of a real world because we only know our own existence) is that human

minds are alike and we labour in common. We use narrative accrual to locate our individual biographies and continuities within a shared social history. This makes a great deal of sense in terms of OHR because it allows us to form an understanding that the students may be attempting to place what they see as their own narrative into the central contextual or cultural narrative than has been constructed around them.

What does all this suggest about what a student who engages in OHR may be thinking? It means that they may be trying to assimilate the ideas and past lives they encounter into their own model of the world – a model based on their pre-existing beliefs, knowledge and ideas and culture. It may also mean that in constructing ideas about the past they may be forming a new narrative of their 'own' place in history and what it means to be a part of their 'own' culture.

This is not, so far, emerging as a clear picture of history as a discipline and that may be because we are taking a view of it as a subject where we as people who share a culture are intimately connected. It involves constructing a narrative of our own existence. In other words, natural thinking about past lives may encompass the possibility of a personal relationship with history.

1.5.v Origins the 'collective memory' and OHR

OHR as a representation of natural thinking may allow for an explanation of whether the student is thinking about identity as conceived by Black (2014) and/or through Bruner's (1991) conception of narrative accrual. It may also be possible to examine whether they are referring to a historical background, a

collective memory, as conceived by Habib (2013) or something drawn, for example, from school learning or personal interest (Cooper, 2012:162-4; Levstik, 1986; Levstik and Pappas, 1992:376) or even a notion that history somehow involves them (Weedon, 2004:5-6). It may also be possible that OHR allows the student to reflect on other stories and narratives they know, that appear to explain history. Indeed, stories and narratives that appear to explain an individual's origins seem to have been evident for almost as long as people have been writing. Rieu (1978:11), for instance, describes how Homer's 'Odyssey' (c.8th century BCE) may have been flattering to an audience who might have imagined themselves as being separated from godlike beings by just a few generations. Snorri Sturluson's '*Edda*' (c.13th century CE) is a Viking explanation for the origination of humanity, which has some strikingly similar elements to the '*Book of Genesis*' (Thorisson ed. 1995:10). This may even have re-manifested itself in the modern age through a more scientific examination of the movement of peoples who explain our own ancestry (Richards 2001) or our genetic background (Oppenheimer 2006). Some have also attempted to explain our historical narrative through linguistics (Bryson, 1990; McCrum, Cran and MacNeil, 1992; Oppenheimer, 2006).

It may be, therefore, that different narratives coalesce to form part of a 'collective memory' that a non-specialist student calls upon when engaging in natural or organic thinking about history. It may also be that this notion of 'collective memory' has a psychological component. Therefore, other facets of psychology which may form part of OHR are investigated in the section below.

1.5.vi Decentring and OHR

The ability to de-centre or project ourselves into another sphere to think about a situation where one is not present, is important for planning or reflecting on potential or past encounters. It is also important to be able to de-centre to engage in thinking about historical lives and processes. This ability is known to exist from an early age and McCormack and Hoerl (2008:91-99) consider the ability of a child to co-ordinate at least three locations in time and to conceive of temporal locations independently of the events that occurred at them (p.91). They give the example of pretend play as a way of demonstrating the point at which children become freed up from the existing world of 'how things actually are' (p.93). They show that there were important changes in temporal de-centring which occur between the ages of three and five (p.96). They discuss mature de-centring and give two examples. Eleven am might have been the time at which we had a coffee but we can also conceive of that time without reference to coffee. In terms of space we can conceive of the space where we parked our car as being empty or perhaps as being occupied by another car (p.98/99.) This is similar to the clock and calendar system, which allow for the event-independent references to time, which are vital to historical understanding. Thus, it is that with maturity the notion of time becomes freed from thoughts about familiar sequences and moves towards abstract conceptions of time. This suggests that the student may be able to temporally encounter an event that they know has occurred in the past and one they did not experience themselves.

1.5 vii Mentally existing in time and OHR

It is our ability to think in time which is highly important in terms of understanding ourselves as a being who is able to plan for the future and think about the past. Manning, Cassel and Cassel (2013) highlight this as an important mechanism in evolution because time-memory allows an organism to behave more adaptively because of experiences at an earlier time. In terms of psychology, simulation or self-projection is a way of mentally transcending the present to occupy a different time, place or reality – something other than the person’s current experience. This allows humans to participate in culture because it allows for mental movement between past and future (Waytz, Hershfield and Tamir 2015:336). Culture would be very difficult to achieve without a conception of a relationship to both the past and future. There may be other psychological responses deployed; a person negotiates a picture of themselves as a being in time because they can also reflect on who they are in relation to others.

Perhaps it might be said rightly that there are three times: a time present of things past; a time present of things present; and a time present of things future. For these three do coexist somehow in the soul, for otherwise I could not see them. The time present of things past is memory; the time present of things present is direct experience; the time present of things future is expectation.

St. Augustine [1], Book 11, Chapter 20, Heading 26.

Manning, Cassel and Cassel (2013:234) note the importance of subjective time and mental time-travel in human cognition and time-memory relationships. They see such mental time-travel as one of the pre-requisites of normal development and speculate that the ability to project one's self into different temporal dimensions is a major challenge of neuropsychology. Wheeler et al. (1997:331-335) see mental time-travel as a major achievement and just as St. Augustine and Manning et al. do – they relate it to the ability to mentally project one's self into the future through imagination. They propose that this is a type of episodic memory, which is a very special and unusual mind-brain achievement. They define episodic memory as a specific neuro-cognitive system that has evolved for the purposes of mental time-travel. They point out the differences between consciousness and awareness (p.335) is that awareness always has an object but consciousness does not. It is like a stage that allows chosen actions to be performed on it. Consciousness allows an individual to become aware, without necessarily dictating what the individual is aware of.

Szpunar (2011:409) and Wheeler, Stuss and Tulving (1997) reflected on chronesthesia, which is the awareness of the subjective time in which one's self exists (i.e. knowing the passing of time) and auto-noetic consciousness (the awareness of self in subjective time), something we might term 'mental time travel'. Auto-noetic awareness is where an individual is aware of their protracted existence over subjective time. Auto-noetic consciousness, therefore, allows for the 'stream of consciousness', which allows one's fluid movement from the past through to the future and back again. This is of course an important historical skill

and may form a component of OHR. Spzunar (2011:409) calls this ability to think of ourselves in time a remarkable achievement because it enables us to remember what has happened to us in the past or imagine what might happen to us in the future. He discusses chronesthesia – literally the feeling of time. He defines subjective time as something which is not clock or calendar time – not a physical reality but a product of the mind. He also notes that patients with damage to the pre-frontal cortex have impaired ability in terms of mental time travel. Most people appear to be able to model an encounter (perhaps an interview) before it happens. Similarly, they also appear to be able to reflect on a past encounter, even a distant one. Humans even seem to also be able to imagine or experience an encounter which did not happen to them, Singer et al, (2008:782).

This is a crucial set of ideas in that it provides a thinking link – the link between Ψ_e , HE, chronesthesia and auto-noetic awareness and consciousness. We can relate to it in the terms described by St. Augustine and see the relationship between hope, aspiration, ambition for the future and what we have learned in the past. It may be informative, therefore, to understand whether mental time-travel to reflect their encounter with past figures is a spontaneous component of students' natural thinking.

1.5 viii Memory, identity and OHR

Memory is a vital mechanism not just in terms of day to day functioning and knowledge but also in providing a conception of who we are as human beings. In

this way an effective memory provides a narrative not only of our own journey through time but also allows us to think about how this journey relates to that of other people. We can see this function of memory as being linked to a conception of history, culture and identity. Black (2014:7) reminded us that group identity is a key feature of human society and discusses the possibility that identities are imagined and constructed rather than inherent. History is part of our identity and a sense of the past comes through family and overlaps with a personal or collective experience of the past. Indeed, this mention of wider family and family through time opened the possibility that the student may be engaged in remodeling their perspective of themselves as a being in history during OHR through mechanisms related to autobiographical and semantic memory (Manning, Denkova and Unterberger 2013). Various mechanisms have been explored to try and account for this re-modelling, but Tani, Peterson and Smorti (2014:254-55) suggest this kind of personal meaning evolves from experiences which are constructed from interactions from others. Graci and Fivush (2017:489) discuss this in terms of narrative – the way memories are expressed linguistically and shape self-identity and connect individuals to others – we construct autobiographical memory stories as a way of shaping and understanding events. Baron and Bluck (2009) explain that such autobiographical memory stories may play a role in self-definition, developing and maintaining social bonds and directing future behaviour.

It may be useful, therefore, to understand whether it is natural for a student to reflect on their personal identity or collective memories when engaging with instruction about the past.

1.5.ix Perspective recognition: appraisal of self in relation to others and OHR

Seeing one's self in relation to the historical figure may, therefore, be a key component of natural thinking. Indeed, thinking about one's relationship and connection to others is significant within Ψ_e . Psychological empathy (Ψ_e) is equated with perspective recognition and caring (Barton and Levstik 2004). For example, Roberts, Strayer and Denham (2014:465) showed that moderate to high levels of Ψ_e indicated an underlying feeling of 'similarity and security with others.' On the other hand, Roberts, Strayer and Denham (2014:465) also showed that moderate/high levels of anger mean increased perceptions and evaluations of others as hostile. They say that these pro-social behaviours relate to each other as they are influenced by similar socialisation experiences. Thus, there is a strong positive link between guilt and Ψ_e as they entail an appraisal of self in relation to others. Anger on the other hand, they say, pre-empts empathetic responses. In other words, it may actually do us good to feel guilty and make affective links between ourselves and others which may explain why students appear to be 'driven' to engage with historical figures.

1.5.x Affective dimensions of Ψ_e and HE; the reaction to an 'other' and OHR

As was shown to be the case with HE many psychological commentators see Ψ_e as having more than one dimension (Smith 2006) and they also conceive that this may manifest as affective/emotive and reflective/cognitive dimensions. In taking a perhaps simplistic view of affective Ψ_e we might see this as the dimension where we, as humans, make an emotive or reactive engagement with the presence of an 'other' (perhaps an historical other) which may have unconscious elements. This emotive domain may, consequently, be the location for both conscious and unconscious reactions to the plight of historic others. This may be where we attempt to identify or even align with past emotive states. This is because we might experience emotional contagion or even mirror those emotions we encounter.

1.5.xi Evoke and identify the emotions of an absent other

Affective Ψ_e is about the dynamics of affective interaction with another person. For instance, Christov-Moore et al. (2014:604-7) said that affective Ψ_e involves unconscious (or what they term pre-reflective) processes, which can be modulated both consciously and unconsciously. One of the effects of this is that we, as humans, can internally evoke the emotions and sensations of a present or even an absent other (or even our own selves at another point in time). This means that in deploying affective Ψ_e we can both identify the emotions of another and align our feelings with theirs.

1.5.xii Alignment between observer and observed and OHR

Affective empathetic deployment can be expressed in different ways. Christov-Moore et al. (2014:607) stated that our response to the pain and distress of others can increase pro-social decision making. This is because, at its most basic, affective Ψ_e is a fast stimulus driven response that aligns the motor behaviour of the observer and the observed. Zaki and Ochner (2012) described this as a kind of emotional contagion; for instance, a smile, and many such behaviours are done without awareness. Schumann, Zaki and Dweck (2014:475/6) also consider that Ψ_e has an innate component which can be seen when an infant mimics its mother's expression or in the emotional contagion seen when people synchronise facial expressions, postures, movement or vocalisations. They draw attention to 'mirroring' where behaviour is reflexive, non-effortful experience sharing which can occur even when a person is under cognitive load (busy). It is possible, therefore, that these types of emotional alignments may be a feature of OHR.

1.5.xiii Ability to decouple our perception of ourselves from that of others

One of the criticisms of affective HE has been thought that it is difficult to modulate, that students are likely to project their own emotions onto those of past historical figures. However, it is the case that as humans we can de-couple our own perceptions from those of others – in other words it is natural to understand that another person may be experiencing a different emotion from our own. The coupling of emotive states is a deeply embedded behaviour and

Christov-Moore et al. (2014:604) state that the preconscious mechanisms which underlie the sharing and mimicry of others' states and behaviours is broadly mapped to affective Ψ_e and this is associated with activity in the temporal and subcortical regions of the brain that are often associated with movement, sensation and emotion. But, importantly, this is also linked to a mechanism for encompassing difference, in other words, decoupling. For example, Singer et al. (2013) demonstrated that if the right supermarginal gyrus is damaged then humans lose their capacity for Ψ_e because this brain area enables us to decouple our perception of ourselves from that of others. When this part of the brain was disrupted subjects projected their own feelings and circumstances onto others.

1.5.xiv Connecting with people in the past may be inevitable

Thus, we may see the affective component of Ψ_e as part of an organic mechanism for aligning one person with another. Indeed, experience of teaching history had suggested to me that Ψ_e is a universal disposition that cannot easily be 'turned off' (that it is entirely organic to muse about the lives of the historical figures that a student encounters). This natural 'urge to connect' is demonstrated by the work of Lockwood, Seara-Cardoso and Viding (2014), Christov-Moore et al. (2014), Mason (2011), and Roberts, Strayer and Denham (2014) who show that affective Ψ_e plays a powerful role in pro-social behaviour that may be partly unconscious. In historical terms, therefore, such an organic motivation may mean that the student is trying to think about an encountered 'past figure' in similar terms.

Like Levesque (2009:149) experience has also taught me that the unconscious elements of all types of empathy appeared to help lead a student towards an appreciation of our shared humanity with past lives and further, that this can be important in terms of understanding the reality of past lives. As Smith (2006:4-8), Christov-Moore et al. (2014:604-7) and Singer et al. (2013) explain, we, as humans, can internally evoke the emotions and sensations of an absent other in a way that is unconscious or pre-conscious. Thus, affective Ψ_e forms an important part of our own organic background as we encounter past historical figures and through being in part reflexive or unconscious it may play a part in the encounter that is difficult to modulate. In other words, affective Ψ_e may form a subconscious component of OHR.

1.5.xv Understanding the mental states, beliefs, intents, desires, perspectives different from our own

Cognitive mechanisms for understanding the difference in emotive states may be helpful because human beings often tend to offer evidence which hides elements of their true feelings (just as the students suspected that Harriet Arbuthnot did). To help understand this it is useful to consider the work of Aan Het Rot and Hogenelst (2014), who like Zaki, Bolger and Ochsner (2008), explore how perspective taking, Theory of Mind (the ability to understand that other's mental states, beliefs, intents, desires, intentions and perspectives are different from one's own) and empathetic accuracy are used to explore what receivers of social and emotional information think about the senders. It is perhaps helpful to note

that they found individuals with an Autistic Spectrum Disorder (ASD) understand the feelings of senders only if they are expressed well enough. Thus, individuals with sub-clinical autism suffer from reduced levels of empathetic accuracy and this increases with the spectrum. Where such an idea is useful to this study is in understanding that it is natural to understand that mental states are different. The work above also leads us to consider the clarity with which such states can be expressed, especially when they are dimly visible through time.

Smith (2006:4-5) states that the more conscious elements of Ψ_e enhance social functioning through enabling us to understand and predict the behaviour of others. Aan het Rot and Hogenelst (2014) tell us that conscious empathy enables us to see situations from different perspectives. Zaki, Bolger and Ochsner (2008) discuss our consciousness that others may see the world differently through having a 'Theory of Mind.' Such conscious reasoning will be vital when engaging in the kind of hypothetico-deductive and imaginative thinking regarding past lives which are encountered through types of artefacts described by Cooper (1991:33-41). In other words, it may be natural to employ Ψ_e of both kinds when engaging in both conscious and unconscious dimensions of OHR. It may, however, also be natural to understand that the thoughts of historical others may be different to our own.

1.5.xvi Definition of Organic Historical Reasoning

Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR) is emerging from this debate as a process of natural reasoning about past lives which incorporates elements of Historical

Empathy (HE), cultural and family background, Ψ_e and possibly other psychological processes. Empathy is a successful disposition because as humans, we have common, behavioural, social, biological, cognitive, affective, conative and spiritual needs (conative being dreams, goals, self-efficacy and a need for control). This is something which is intrinsic to the individual and humanity (Huitt 2011). These visceral and cerebral zones of imperatives are almost invisible personal elements of an individual's existence and in relation to the viewing of historical figures, may constitute another dimension of OHR.

Important psychological components of OHR may, therefore, be the ability to identify with others (because we share a common biology and psychology), the ability to de-centre or project ourselves into another sphere through mental time-travel and the ability to see ourselves as beings who exist in time who are able to think about the past and future. It is also about the possession of a memory that accrues not just our own memories but 'collective' memories which can locate us within our perceived culture.

These possible organic components, therefore, reflect the process of natural thinking about past lives. They are not competencies applied by students to understand the feelings and thoughts and motives of great historical figures. Such natural thinking will, however, require a stimulus which can be applied because of the student's limited subject knowledge. Therefore, section 1.6 argues that connections with people living in the past may be best stimulated by teaching which utilizes material culture as evidence of the reality of past historical lives.

1.6 What are the benefits of applying Organic Historical Reasoning to material culture?

1.6.i Artefacts can be more powerful sources than language

Jenkins and Bickley (1989: 18-22) point out that the Medieval peasant or the Viking had limited vocabulary and used limited language, and *'To gain historical understanding one must get inside their culture, via cultural artefacts, to the minds that infused them with life, to see the world as they saw it.'* Artefacts seem to demonstrate some of the qualities required from evidence that promotes effective OHR. This may be because they offer an opportunity to incorporate multiple perspectives into the teaching of history. I argue below that material culture, artefacts, may allow students to think about past lives through achieving surplus meaning. I also attempt to make the case that the presentation of artefacts enables non-specialist history students to more readily reflect on the reality of past lives.

1.6.ii Ways in which Organic Historical Reasoning, applied to material culture might enable these non-specialist history students to reflect on the reality of past lives

Overcoming problems of perspective by revisiting and reforming ideas

We can question whether artefacts will also allow the student to re-form and re-visit their ideas about past lives. This may involve them in forming different ideas about perspective. Take, for example, one of the artefacts I use in my teaching, a pottery fragment from a Roman olive oil amphora. It may seem, on first

acquaintance, to be a boring piece of broken pottery, a featureless disembodied handle. However, after receiving strong contextual information about the importance of the production of olive oil within the Roman economy and its role in domestic life the student appears to re-form ideas about what it represents. During activities to research the shape and form of the amphora and then through making re-construction drawings the student appears to form ideas about reality of the lives of the Roman people who made it, touched it, and used it. This may be a connection based upon a mutual experience of handling the same object rather than an attempt to understand or enter the past-experience.

Making a connection between self and the artefact

Non-specialist history students may make a natural connection between themselves and the artefact. Koopman (2015:118-19) thinks about this and reflects upon the work of Sartre in 'Being and Nothingness' (1943) where he questions the subject-object dichotomy in relation to different states of being. This is in relation to how a subject-object relationship can turn into a subject-subject relationship. Koopman gives the example of a foot remaining as an object of observation until it kicks a ball, then it becomes a subject of the person's attention. In other words, for the non-specialist student history may be an object – they understand it exists but they are not fully conscious of it until it manifests itself to them. This may be a manifestation that can be brought about through artefacts. Busch (2011:193) also refers to the same work of Sartre, who describes the past as falling from him without connections. Sartre tells us you cannot enter

the past because 'the past is'. That is to say, the past is a *de facto* reality. Sartre goes on to say that the way to enter the past is through identification. Thus, to the student who has few thoughts about history '*the past is*' because it is a reality, they understand it once existed but to them it currently has the status of an object. Thus, in using a material culture artefact for instructing the student it may be possible to make them more fully aware of the past and, therefore, bring it into their consciousness. Catalano (2005:19) also reflects upon 'Being and Nothingness' and notes Sartre's first 'purpose' that '*the world is the way it is because our body is the way it is*'. This is a useful idea in reflecting the notion that in conceiving dimensions of OHR we cannot ignore our own biology. Catalano also points out Sartre's idea that we forge the intellectual tools to understand our own history. This brings us to another idea about the place of material culture as a tool for thinking about history because many artefacts make it clear that people in the past had the same bodies and needs as we do – thus they form intimate examples of the reality of past life. This makes sense if we reflect on the work of Koopman (2015) and Busch (2011) where they discuss subject-subject relations and identification - in other words the past needs to acquire meaning for its structure to interact with our own humanity. It is possible that the artefact may allow the past to acquire this meaning. This could be through a perception of its function as a tool – whereby the artefact is portrayed in its human sphere. In achieving this the student may not necessarily know about the motives of the person who used the artefact but once they think about it in relation to the context of the past they view the historical figure differently. An artefact, therefore, may allow

the student to engage with the reality of a past figure by allowing them to become conscious of their physical existence. In other words, the artefact may not convey any meaning until it is understood in relation to its context. In this way the artefact and the context of the past are not separate. Once this is understood, it allows students to form a link between the artefact, the past figure who used the artefact and themselves as the present figure who observes the artefact.

Overcoming problems of perspective through narrative co-completion

Since the work of Cooper (1991) very little attention has been paid to the kind of incidental HE or Ψ_e that arises as students of history encounter past lives through evidence such as artefacts. This strand of thinking may, however, be important as it could offer a way to teach students about past lives and sidestep the problems inherent in HE. Indeed Ψ_e , gained directly through such material culture evidence, may promote awareness of the reality of past lives and cause students to make inferences about the similarities and differences between the present time and the past. These inferences about similarities and differences may involve the student in engaging with the material culture artefacts as containing or offering a narrative of past lives. Direct contact with such evidence may avoid the dangers inherent within the so called 'presentism' discussed by Brophy and Allerman (2003:108) and VanSledright (2001:58) because the student may co-construct the narrative by calling on a range of contextual and private knowledge. One of the ways in which presentist ideas may be overcome is through students re-forming their own ideas and narrative as they encounter the artefact. This

reflects the process of moderate hermeneutics proposed by Retz (2015) covered in section 1.6.ii. Research on the intersection between artefacts and the disposition for Ψ_e is often centred on the way in which we think about artefacts as part of a narrative. Indeed Cronis (2015:180-2) discussed the way missing narrative is both manifest and substantiated through artefacts. This is the idea of narrative co-construction – where the viewer brings their own experiences as cues to partake in meaning making. Cronis (2015:180-188) thus, discusses the way narrativity is woven into the commercial environment and wonders how this might be applied to using material culture artefacts as a storytelling mechanism. Thus, the artefact may be subject both to idiosyncratic meaning as well as cultural meaning-making. Objects, Chronis explains, can behave rhetorically and through research (p.184) identifies that that viewers of artefacts are using them to fill narrative gaps in a way which can constitute a non-verbal and personal access to knowledge. The viewer of the material culture makes comparisons (p.185) and is particularly impressed where something ancient (in this case Byzantine artefacts) are broadly similar to something used now. It is, they point out (p.186) a way of relating the distant past to the viewer's own life through comparisons and a recognition of similarities. Objects, therefore, function as bridges between the past and the present. People's collective past is recorded within artefacts and this re-contextualisation is where the viewer interprets the past through the lens of the present without some of the dangers of presentism. Cronis (p.187) discusses the viewer's thoughts about artefacts in terms of re-contextualizations which involve shifts of meanings and through equivalencies which are a re-focussing

from them to us. Artefacts, therefore, are not just about a reading of the past but a reflection on the present, the re-contextualization illuminates the present. Artefacts evoke the presence of the past through the imagination and allow the viewer to enter, just a little, into the life lived in the past (p.187-188). Indeed, Cronis described some subjects as being 'transported' into the past. This is because some people seemed actively to enter the past in their imaginations while others seemed to find that artefacts intensified their experience.

Thus, during natural thinking, the non-specialist student may enter, just a little, into the past through making comparisons and recognising similarities with those past historical lives. This allows them to re-contextualise their ideas about the past through a shifting understanding of what the artefact demonstrates and then refocus from the past historical life to their own. In other words, it may be that the 1917 edition of 'Woodbine Willie's' World War I poetry (artefact 12, appendix I) allows students to view it in the context of the war and then to shift focus between themselves in the present and his life in the trench. Thus, for a moment they may see the poet where he was.

1.6. iii Remembering things not witnessed through material culture artefacts

Cronis' (2015) work was about the power of narrative contained in artefacts through narrative co-construction, narrative completion, comparisons and contextualisation. Could this, therefore, lead the non-specialist student towards natural thinking that may constitute a component of OHR? Bucciandini (2009:4) discusses the way museums use artefacts to construct narratives which can be

understood by their viewers. This is an ontological approach which centres on how artefacts encompass their own stories. Bucciantini reflects (p.6) on the nature of the authenticity of these stories and comments that objects have a biography as they pass between the spaces that they encounter and comments on the work of Benjamin (1999) who remarks that artefacts have an 'aura' which gives a viewer the power to connect to ideas which are larger than it. This may mean that during OHR the artefact connects the student to wider contextual ideas which may relate both to their own ideas about the past and to the context of the time in which the artefact was constructed. A conception of the potential power of this connection is contained within Crownshaw's (2007:179) work on photographs and memories of the Holocaust. Here he discusses Young's ideas (1993) about the shock that the artefacts provoke as creating a remembrance of things not witnessed. The artefact is not (within museums) an unmediated objectification of the past but it is interpreted in the light of present-day discourses and through opening up an interpretive space around the artefact it achieves surplus meaning.

Thus, material culture artefacts presented alongside strong contextual information can connect students to powerful ideas and this may constitute a component of OHR. It is through this dimension of OHR that they gain access to a potentially powerful experience of the past, one where they may act as a witness to things they have not experienced. The status of 'witness' may allow for a vision of the past which does not call upon the student to attempt to enter the mind of the past figure but allows them to think about the reality of the past.

1.7 Using artefacts to teach students about past lives through pedagogically well crafted activity

Writers such as Cogswell and McLachlan (2014:62-63) suggest that one of the ways to avoid pupils becoming bored whilst being taught history is through affective engagement with historical figures. They argue that such affective engagement can be achieved through the incorporation of drama techniques which will lead to meaningful engagement with past lives. Dietz (2018:768) advocates the use of game-based role-play in the teaching of history to school pupils which she argues offers the potential of embodied learning experiences. This is because the games, she asserts, are dynamic and embody the players own actions and choices in an historical context. Dodwell (2017) advocates the use of extended role-play which leads to the creation of scripted work as a way of exploring local folk tales and other historical events. In her work she outlines the kind of dramatic project which could result in work lasting several weeks. Johnson (2015) carefully debated the use of re-enactment within the discipline of history. She was interested in the notion of whether it can offer a collective and authentic experience of the past. She raised questions about its educative potential because it may be considered overtly theatrical and affective. However, later in her narrative she made a consideration of reasons why such activity may help historians to readdress the notion of history as a subject discipline. She argues this because re-enactment may offer a broader perspective and allow useful engagement with what she terms the 'affect' within history. However, whilst

I have used drama techniques such as re-enactment during my past museum career I am not proposing to use them in the context of this research. This is for two reasons. Firstly, both role-play and re-enactment involve elements of what Dietz (2018) calls scene setting. This is something which accords with my own museum experience because I understand that through creating the 'dramatic' context within which the re-enactment or role-play is embedded the educator is 'engineering' the past world into which the student peers. This will, therefore, mean that the students are not looking at real past lives but re-constructions of them. In other words, it would be difficult to assert that the educator is not manufacturing the affective experience of examining those past lives. Dodwell (2017) provides a good example of why this type of approach could lead to practice which may not be overtly historical. This is because whilst the script writing she proposes may have been related to historical events the resulting work may be little more than historical fantasy. The school pupils engaged in such a project simply would not have enough time to master the complexities of life and belief in the early seventeenth century to interpret the story of the past from anything other than their own (present day) perspective.

The second reason for not using these techniques was pointed out by Johnson (2015) who notes that such techniques are not well accepted within academic networks. Indeed, authors such as Davison (2017:149) had seen Historical Empathy (HE) as a problem because it led to school pupils engaging in over identifying with historical characters and 'let's pretend...' It was also notable that educationists (Retz, 2012:41; Yeager and Foster, 2001; Cooper, 1991; Levesque,

2008:152; Foster, 1999:19) all claimed that HE should not play out as an exercise in imagination or through over-identification with an historical character. Consequently, in an effort to move away the kinds of imaginative approaches some authors have described (Colby, 2010; Pelligrino, Lee and D'Erizan's, 2012) it is not intended to use drama or historical re-enactment during the teaching phase of this research. This because it may lead to the students in attempting to over-identify with the historical characters they encounter. Role-play will only be used in a context where students read historical sources, such as diary entries and contemporary narrative, as a performance for their peers.

These constraints may, consequently, strengthen the case for using artefacts as a way of examining past lives. This is because they offer the possibility of making a connection through evidence rather than dramatic technique or scene setting. Careful thought must, therefore, be given to how artefacts are used in order to effectively teach students about past lives. Indeed, it is notable that a number of commentators on the teaching of primary history (O'Hara and O'Hara, 2001:69-72; Pluckrose, 1991:25-28, 93-95; Hoodless, 2011:73-74; Blyth, 1989:21-22 ; Harnett and Whitehouse, 2017:33-34 Nichol, 2017:53-54 ; Temple, 2014:143 ; Cooper2012:17-21 ; Cooper, 2014:3-4;) have discussed the inclusion of artefacts within taught sessions.

O'Hara and O'Hara (2001:69-72) pointed out that children assimilate a view of the world through a first-hand experience such as the handling of artefacts. This means that they are forced to re-evaluate their ideas in the light of new experiences. This is especially true when what they call 'modern parallels' are

introduced in the form of artefacts that, they say, can foster a sense of, chronology, change and development. In this sense the 'modern parallels' they describe may be artefacts such as a Roman dice (which is broadly similar to a modern one) or those which are sufficiently familiar to be interpreted in modern terms, such as a Victorian dress. Therefore, it may be useful to include artefacts of this type during taught sessions to promote such thinking about past lives.

Cooper (2014:3-4) reminds us of the words of Neil McGregor, the director of the British Museum. He said that artefacts grant an immediate access to the ideas and concerns of the people who made them and how they lived and what they believed. Cooper links the sense of the past that artefacts convey to the idea of context and change over time. In other words, the use of artefacts during teaching can provide the student with a link to the story of the past. This may suggest that artefacts can be chosen to extend a student's thinking. Thus, artefacts which provide a link to an event with which a student is unfamiliar (such as trench warfare during WWI) should be sought. It may be useful to do this because well chosen artefacts could allow access and insights into the experience of a soldier. Artefacts such as shrapnel from the battlefield or a contemporary rifle may, consequently, promote strong thoughts about what it was like to have been a soldier. Harnett and Whitehouse (2017:33-34) also discuss the idea that artefacts of this type can allow school children to develop and extend their thinking to consider past perspectives.

Cooper (2012 :17-21) has also suggested that artefacts are likely to be used during teaching as part of a process of historical enquiry and may (p.20) lead us to accept

what we cannot fully know about the past. This is because whilst traces of the past, she suggests, tell us something of people's past actions we can never truly know the thoughts and feelings that underpinned those actions. This is similar to the idea of 'shared normalcy' (Barton and Levstik, 2004) where we may recognise that the historical actor's actions made sense to them but not to ourselves. In other words, artefacts can actually foster a sense that the past was different and partly unknowable. This may, also allow for the inclusion of artefacts during teaching where human agency is visible but is more difficult to interpret in modern terms. This could be through the inclusion of a Victorian ale muller, or archaeological artefacts for instance.

Influential commentators on the teaching of history and the humanities (Rowley and Cooper, 2009:4-5, Cooper,2008 :14-15 Hoodless, 2008 :42-44 ; O'Hara and O'Hara, 2001 :68-69) have offered other insights into how it may be possible to teach students about past lives in ways which are both effective in educational terms and a valuable and intellectually satisfying experience. Rowley and Cooper (2009 :4-5) for instance, discuss how history has a process dimension which is associated with an inner dimension. This statement relates to the way in which the humanities can be associated with the concept of values in education. For example, they noted a statement from the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights that education shall be directed towards the full development of the human personality whilst maintaining respect for others. They point out that the process of enquiry in history and the humanities brings a special characteristic to the learning of history which is associated with the concept of value in a way that

seems to reflect such an aspiration. It is, consequently, likely that the content of modules designed to teach students about past historical lives through artefacts may involve elements of enquiry learning that are intended to provide a rich experience of learning about the past that extends beyond the limitations of a bare content driven curriculum. In other words, the learning experiences will incorporate a mixture of enquiry and other techniques to promote rich thinking about past lives. Hoodless (2008 :42-44) also sees enquiry as a basic tool of the historian and considers that it should lie alongside other skills such as an awareness of chronology. Consequently, it is thought that teaching about past lives should also be undepinned by a chronological framework that allows students to contextualise those past lives.

O'Hara and O'Hara (2001 :68) take a pragmatic view of effective learning strategies in education. In their work the student is perceived as being an active learner who gains from interactive first-hand experiences. They also see the value of history as a social and cognitive collaboration with others. These simple philosophies of an interactive engagement with session content and multiple chances to engage in collaborative activity can, therefore, form a part of the good practice that underpins effective teaching about past lives through the use of artefacts.

One of the techniques which may be useful in the creation of pedagogically well crafted taught history sessions where artefacts are used is through the telling of personal story. This may be of value where more modern artefacts are used such as the mobile phone collection. Here it may be useful for students to tell stories

of their own memories related to owning and using such phones. As Maynes et al. (2008) point out this kind of personal narrative evidence allows for marginalised voices to be heard and offers the possibility of hearing counternarrative which contrasts with or reflects the established narratives. Such stories also offer a chance to draw attention to the social and cultural dynamics by which individuals construct their own selves as social actors and understand their place in relation to history.

Well crafted handling activity.

Well crafted handling activities are important in allowing the student to make contact with an artefact in a way which makes sense to themselves (O'Hara and O'Hara, 2001:69-72; Pluckrose, 1991:25-28, 93-95; Harnett and Whitehouse, 2017:33-34 Nichol, 2017:53-54 ; Temple, 2014:143 ; Cooper, 2014:3-4; Cooper, 2012:17-21). To achieve this the activity may also promote an understanding of the importance of the artefact. This could be achieved through gaining a sense of its value through cues such as the use of careful handling techniques and through observing that it is protected by special storage and transit conditions, Richoux et al. (1994:179-186).

1.8 Constructing a possible model of Organic Historical Reasoning

This review of literature related to a critique of Historical Empathy (HE) as a problematic concept for thinking about past lives. It also involved an exploration of psychological empathy (Ψ_e), and a consideration of other psychological

processes involved in natural thinking about past lives. It has also considered how artefacts may promote natural thinking and gained a glimpse of how they might offer a powerful experience of the past which sidesteps some of the perspective problems in traditional models of HE.

It seems possible, following this review, that there are natural alignments between some of these different elements. Arguably there is a connection between the affective elements of both HE and Ψ_e and between ideas about identity, historical identity and autobiographical memory. This helps us to understand that any model which represents possible dimensions of OHR may not be as complex and diverse as might be assumed from the literature.

In laying out the model below I outline 4 possible categories of thought that might constitute OHR. However, these are so grouped for convenience because any model that may arise from the data may be different in complexion. These four categories are:

Category A: Reflections which arise from the historical activity itself

In this category students reflect on the historical processes they have encountered and may perhaps discuss their own historical knowledge. They may also reflect on the activities as a methodology for instruction in history.

- The nature of the subject and how the historian explores past lives (sections 1.1 and 1.2)
- Thoughts about context and knowledge (sections 1.1 and 1.2)

- The nature of the evidence as a way of understanding historical lives (section 1.2)

Category B: Understanding the reality of the past

In this category the reality of past lives becomes fully apparent to the student. They may reflect on or even draw inferences about what the material culture can tell them about past lives. They may make judgements or logical inferences about the past lives that they have encountered.

- Thoughts about the truth of past lives (section 1.6)
- Engaging with evidence to think about past actions (section 1.2)
- Engaging in cognitive or traditional HE (section 1.2)
- Engaging in cognitive Ψ_e (section 1.4)
- Engaging with the reality portrayed by artefacts. (Section 1.6)

Category C: Sharing in the experience of the past or imagining the past

In this category the student may deploy affective HE or Ψ_e in demonstrating that they care for or about past lives.

They may attempt to imagine being in the past or to 'see' the past figure in action. They may also attempt to draw inferences about the emotive or cognitive state of the past figure.

- Entering the past (section 1.2)
- Imagining the past (section 1.2)
- Sharing in the experience of the past (section 1.6)

- Engaging in affective HE (section 1.2)
- Engaging in imaginative HE (section 1.2)
- Engaging in progressive HE (section 1.2)
- Engaging in Ψ_e (section 1.4)

Category D: The student rethinking themselves as a being in time. In this category the student may attempt to think about their own relationship to the historical figure or the time in which they lived.

- Thoughts about identity (sections 1.5 and 1.6)
- Engaging with their autobiographical memory (section 1.5)
- Thinking about themselves as a being in time (section 1.5)

Table 1.2 identifies the four categories of thought which arose from the literature.

Category A This is thinking connected to the historical activity itself.	Category B This is connected to understanding the reality of the past.
Category C: Sharing in the experience of the past or imagining the past.	Category D: The student rethinking themselves as a being in time.

Table 1.2 Sub-concepts of OHR.

Table 1.2 Table shows the sub-concepts which create the concept of Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR) which emerged from the literature review sections 1.2-1.6.

Figure 1.1 outlines a possible model of OHR constructed from the four categories of thinking outlined in table 1.2.

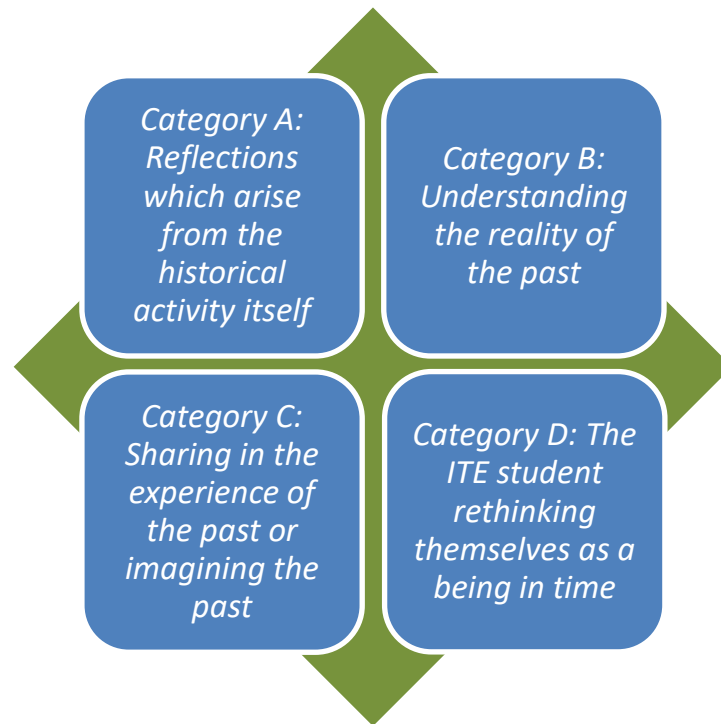


Figure 1.1. Model '1' OHR

Figure 1.1. shows how the four categories of thinking identified from the literature may link to the new concept of OHR in model '1'.

The creation of a tentative model '1' (figure 1.1) was arrived at through reflection on the literature in Chapter 1. In this model OHR is broken into four strands of thinking about past historical figures. Category 'A' is related to the historical activity the students have encountered. Category 'B' describes possible thoughts related to the reality of past lives. Category 'C' describes possible attempts to make links with or imagine those past lives. Category 'D' thoughts appear to relate to the participant's own background.

Based upon this review of literature the concept of 'Organic Historical Reasoning' has been tentatively outlined as representing four dimensions of natural thinking about past historical lives. These natural dimensions are posited as arising partly as a result of encountering evidence that makes it clear that past lives were real.

1.8.i Conclusion

Chapter 1 reviewed literature related to the research question, 'Is it possible to construct a new concept describing how non-specialist primary school student teachers can make historically valid connections with people who lived in the past?' It investigated how the work of R.G. Collingwood (1946) led to the construction of a concept named, 'Historical Empathy' and argued that this is too challenging for non-specialist students of history. The literature was explored to consider whether it might provide evidence to support the construction of a new concept, which could enable emergent learners to make historically valid connections with people who lived in the past. A concept named; 'Organic Historical Reasoning' was posited. It was suggested that the process of Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR) applied to material culture, reflects the ways in which students naturally reflect upon and make connections with people who lived in past times Chapter 2 considers methodologies for investigating the research question.

Chapter 2

Methodology to investigate the research question

Introduction

Chapter 1 investigated literature relevant to the question, 'Organic Historical Reasoning: redefining the concept of 'Historical Empathy.' This chapter considers a method for investigating the natural or organic thinking of students as they encounter teaching about past historical lives. It is not proposing an examination of their historical knowledge and understanding. Chapter 2 section 2.1 considers how the literature review informs the search for a methodology which will most effectively investigate this question. Section 2.2 evaluates possible methodologies and explains the reasons for the methods selected. Section 2.3 describes and evaluates a pilot study and section 2.4 considers the implications of the pilot study for the main study. Section 2.5 describes the methods for data collection and recording data in the main study. Section 2.6 discusses methods for data analysis.

2.1 How the literature review informs the methodology

The research arose because my experience had taught me that HE may not be a full explanation of how non-specialist students think about historical lives. The experience also demonstrated that a student may naturally engage in other types of thinking when faced with teaching about past lives. Finally, my experience had also suggested that artefacts may prompt rich thoughts about past lives.

Firstly, my reading had led me to the conclusion that the concept of HE in education was ill defined. Writers such as Foster (1999:19), Davis (2001), Lee and Ashby (2001)

Shemilt (1980:37) and Lee and Shemilt (2011:47-48) advocated so-called cognitive HE as a mechanism where, similarly to Collingwood (1946:282-302), the student attempts to re-enact the historical actor's mind through an appeal to evidence. However, this cognitive approach seemed to ignore the obvious psychological component of the disposition and in any case may have been too challenging for students.

Secondly, my reading led to an understanding that some writers such as Rantala, Manninen and Van-den-Berg (2016:324-345), Barton and Levstik (2004) and Van Sledright (2001) saw a role for affective elements of HE in education. Some, for instance, Barton and Levstik (2013:8), even argued that it can be deployed alongside cognitive HE to generate insights into an historical actor's actions. However, in discussing affective HE the disposition of psychological empathy (Ψ_e) did not seem to be well understood. In particular, it was noted that whilst some writers such as Cunningham (2007; 2009) appeared to be aware of the potential breadth of the disposition but others, such as Endacott (2010:9), seemed less clear and had even appealed to an encyclopaedia of psychology in order to define Ψ_e . This may be important because Ψ_e appears to have strong alignments with affective HE.

Thirdly, my reading had also begun to suggest that other psychological mechanisms such as Ψ_e may be involved in natural thinking about past lives and therefore I decided to pursue the possibility of creating a new model to describe this process. This model, it was hoped, may allow for the synthesis of both Ψ_e and HE as well as allowing the incorporation of other psychological mechanisms. I decided to term this model of thinking and reasoning about past lives, Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR).

The term 'Organic Historical Reasoning' (OHR) was chosen as it represents the natural human response to an emerging understanding of reality of past lives. This may be

through a variety of psychological mechanisms such as forming affective and cognitive connections via psychological empathy (Ψ_e) and possibly even Historical Empathy (HE). It may also involve 're-thinking' and re-constructing an awareness of the passing of time through processes such as chronesthesia and anoesis. This may be apparent through a modification of the students' own awareness of their connections to past historical lives possibly via their autobiographical and semantic memory. This study is based on the recognition that it may be natural for a non-specialist student to deploy aspects of HE as a method for thinking about the reality of past lives.

2.2 Evaluation of possible methodologies for investigating ways in which non-specialist primary students naturally think about the past

2.2i Positive or interpretative methods?

I decided to develop a methodology based upon a grounded theory approach and refine OHR as a possible model of non-specialist thinking about past historical lives. I decided to undertake a cautious approach to designing a methodology.

Thomas (2013:133) explains that a 'design frame' governs the principles of a methodology and therefore, a key decision for this research process lay in whether the paradigm that governed the approach to this work be quantitative or qualitative, (Braun and Clark, 2006; 2016; Smith, 2017:119-123). The research was initially designed to focus on developing an understanding of the deployment of Ψ_e as a component of HE. This would have been a study which was focussed on the psychological nature of HE. This original study may have benefitted from a quantitative methodological approach because (somewhat naively) I wanted to test the theory that HE was inherently psychological in nature. In thinking this I had found that many

studies of Ψ_e adhered to quantitative principles, for example Singer et al. (2008; 2013) and Mason (2011). However, the literature on psychological empathy (Ψ_e) in chapter 1 had led to ideas about it as a possible component of a new concept of Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR). Therefore, once the study broadened out to one centred on generating embryonic theory rather than testing a theory, that is 'a development and refinement of OHR as a model for thinking about past historical lives', a qualitative methodology was sought. A consequence of this change towards creating a model for thinking about past lives was that the study would now have to draw upon multiple fields of interest:

- The teaching of history which leads to insights into past lives,
- HE and Ψ_e as a component of a student's thoughts about past lives,
- Other possible psychological mechanisms for thinking about past lives,
- Material culture artefacts as stimuli for thinking about past lives.

This, therefore, initially felt like a study ridden with tensions, which became quickly evident, even in the terminologies applied to the components of Ψ_e . For example, whereas writers such as Endacott and Brooks (2013:41-46) used the term affective empathy others such as Christov- Moore et al. (2014:604-7) use the term 'pre-reflective' and Smith (2006:4-8) spoke of emotional empathy in broadly similar contexts. It thus became essential to understand that this was to be a study that would echo the naturally chaotic nature of education, history and to an extent psychology. Any methodology was, therefore, likely only to provide a rich, textured discussion of findings that may at best be tentative, ambiguous and fluid. In other words, using a qualitative paradigm would allow the generation of tentative ideas about OHR but would not allow for it to be tested in generalisable form. Thus, it was understood that

such a paradigm for research, even if effectively conducted, would only allow for a distillation of theory and reality that may possibly begin to reflect the true nature of OHR.

Finlay and Ballinger (2006:5-7) had acknowledged the potential complexity of engaging in studies of the social world. They noted the tension between researchers who view the construction of the world through language, meanings and interpretation and others who valued the existence of multiple realities and subjectivities. They also acknowledge the co-constituted nature of research in this field, which becomes a joint product of participants and researchers. Finlay and Ballinger (2006:5-7) had consequently drawn my attention to two further considerations for this kind of research. Firstly, it would be difficult to decide upon the variables in advance because it would be an iterative process, whereby methodological adjustments may be made through reflection on participant interaction over time. Secondly, it would be difficult for me, as researcher, to remain as an outsider because I would be interacting with the participants.

Therefore, the pilot stage would have to do two things. Firstly, it would require the testing of a methodology that had the potential to uncover the depth of thinking involved in OHR. Secondly, it would have to show that the methodology was sufficiently flexible to allow for unexpected components of OHR to be accounted for.

2.2.ii Consideration of a phenomenological approach:

A postulate of this early phase of the study was that OHR would be principally composed both of Ψ_e and HE, with other psychological components playing a more minor role within the model. Therefore, a methodology was sought that would allow

for a qualitative study that was inherently psychological in nature. This would lead to the trialling of a phenomenological approach during the first pilot phase. This seemed to be a good fit for the data collection because phenomenology appeared to offer a chance to examine the participant's 'lived experience' of handling material culture during teaching. It was also thought that phenomenology may offer a chance to explore any thoughts about past lives that arose. Importantly this method of data collection is centred on hermeneutics, intentionality (the relationship between consciousness and the object of the thoughts) and inter-subjectivity (the relationship between one's self as a subject and other selves as subjects). Thus, it was thought the approach would allow for a rich description of the participant's thoughts about past lives. Indeed, Koopman (2015:2/3) provided further reassurance for adopting this approach by explaining that quantitative methods which mathematise human behaviour are inadequate in this kind of investigation and that phenomenology (within a semi-structured interview and questionnaire process) is a good way of gaining entry to the inner world of participants. Koopman described this method where the 'lived' experience of the participants is seen as the beginning and end of a process (p.4) and pointed out that, while we are not explicitly conscious of our habitual actions or patterns of mind, phenomenology allows for the exploration of the consciousness of experience from an individual's point of view. This method, therefore, seemed ideal in that it may allow me, as researcher, to gain insights into the psychological thoughts of an individual as they reflected on the historical lives they had encountered.

Semi-structured interviews

It seemed likely that the best way of uncovering the 'lived world' described by phenomenologists such as Koopman (2015:2-4) was through semi-structured interviews with the pilot participants. Support for using such interviews also came from Marshall, Kitson and Zeitz (2012:2665) and Collingridge and Gantt (2008). Indeed, Kvåle and Bondevik (2008) commented on the depth phenomenology allows in exploring the perspective of those who are experiencing a phenomenon, which in this case was thought to be the deployment of Ψ_e . Phenomenology, they said would allow for the participant's experiences to be explored accurately. Thus, for the purposes of the pilot study, semi-structured interviews using phenomenology as the 'self-showing of the matter of thinking' (Herrman & Maly, 2013:ii; Morgan, 2003) were to form the main approach to gathering data.

Rationale for a case study.

The incorporation of semi-structured interviews as a data gathering tool suggested that this research project may be best constituted as a case study. Wiebe et al. (2010:xxxii) identify a number of characteristics which define a case study. These are; a focus on interrelationships in the context of a specific entity. Secondly, an analysis of the relationship between the contextual factors and the entity. Thirdly, using the insights gained about the interrelationships between the contextual factors and the entity to generate or suggest theory.

Several factors, therefore, suggested that a case study would be an effective format for this research. This is because the research is centred on two contextual factors namely, teaching about past historical lives and artefacts as a vehicle for viewing those

lives. It is then focussed on the entity, the student, and their thoughts that arise as they are taught about those past lives partly through the use of artefacts. In this case the data may help the researcher to explore this interrelationship. This is because the data will comprise transcripts of semi-structured interviews about the students' thoughts that arose as a result of the teaching. Finally, it is intended to suggest theory in response to a careful analysis of this data through using Braun and Clarke's (2006;2009) hybrid thematic approach during the main study.

2.2.iii The role of the researcher

Accordingly, it was felt that semi-structured interviews concerning the hermeneutic meaning-making of the participants, with a focus on their intentionality and intersubjectivity as they thought about past lives, would require a very carefully designed pilot study. Further careful thought was then given to my own role as the researcher and how I may draw responses of sufficient depth to generate a model of OHR. Three possibilities were considered. Firstly, that a third party delivered the taught sessions of the education courses the students were undertaking and I as the researcher conducted the interviews. Secondly, that a third party conducted the interviews whilst I as the researcher delivered the taught sessions. Thirdly, that I as the researcher conducted both the taught sessions and the interviews.

After reflection it was felt that to attain sufficient depth and insight during the questioning process I as the researcher should remain as a participant and, therefore, option three was considered to be the most viable. Indeed, Sloan and Bowe (2014:1298) had showed the co-constructed nature of knowledge, where the

investigator remains part of the process, would allow for the best determination of how the interview is conducted and what questions are asked. This appeared to be a good decision because it was decided that an iterative process, whereby, methodological refinements could be made as a result of my own researcher reflections during the pilot sessions, was desirable. Sloan and Bowe (2014) had further pointed out that human behaviour is determined by the phenomena of experience and not by objective realities and had referred to Heidegger's (1927) words about an investigator being unable to remain detached from a phenomenon. In other words, it was considered unlikely that using a third party would result in questions of sufficient depth because he or she would be unaware of the nuances and complexity of teaching about past lives that the subjects had experienced. However, it was also realised that this dual role may potentially influence the outcome of the study and consequently any method would have to be applied rigorously and carefully.

Potential for interviewer effect Dadds (2008) describes practitioner research as a potent form of professional development that has transformative potential. In arguing this she is asserting that it can lead practitioners into reconceptualising their knowledge of 'how' and that such knowledge can lead to a change in others. This would suggest that practitioner research is a good thing because it both allows them to modify their own knowledge and then pass that knowledge on to others. Conversely, as Thomas (2013:70) points out, knowledge is frail and not fixed and personal involvement in research should be critically questioned because it may affect the very acquisition of knowledge. In this way he argues (p.108) the researcher should be disinterested in their own research because it is their only way to remove their own

expectations of their findings. However, many of the studies on HE have involved close participation by the researchers themselves, for example: Endacott (2010) and Lee, Ashby and Dickenson (1997). Indeed, Thomas (2013:108-109) himself later argues that the benefit of this kind of close participation lies in the nuanced observational complexities which are available to the researcher who is present. This level of possible understanding is useful to me as a participatory researcher because discussions of the student's reflections on past lives may be varied, detailed and nuanced. It is also, however, important to observe that I as researcher am not seeking (in this study) to validate or apply any particular theory to the student's own thinking about past lives. In other words, I do not hold a view, for example, that HE or Ψ e will be an explanation of the thinking that has taken place. Instead, this research is seeking to uncover the different ways in which the student may be thinking and, therefore, the possibility of bias in favour of one theory or another (whilst still present) may be lessened.

2.2.iv Data Analysis Considerations

Further thinking was applied to how sufficiently rich pilot data would be achieved through phenomenological analysis and the work of Vagle (2014:59-61) was noted. Vagle had explored Van Manen's (1990) view that there is no way to employ phenomenology without it being a semantic analysis of language (you cannot prise language and meaning apart he said). Vagle also said that in using Van Manen's approach the researcher is deeply committed to the phenomena investigated and this is maintained as a thoughtful process during the data gathering. He said that one should be a 'teacher-learner' with regards to the phenomenon and seek to learn as much about it as possible. This was seen as entirely consistent with the approach taken

for these two pilot interviews because it was expected that the participant's empathetic thinking regarding past lives would only become visible through being open and responsive to the phenomenon and that this would be observed through language.

An advantage of using Vagle's approach to phenomenology lay in the 'whole-part-whole' method of data-gathering. Vagle (2014:97) argued that phenomenology allowed for the possibility of triangulation and convergence across data and also meant that single statements which conveyed powerful meanings could be amplified. Bryman (2004:455) suggests that triangulation can be achieved through a follow-up process whereby emergent themes are pursued and checked and similarly to Loeschen (2012) and Kruger (2012) a multiple phenomenological case study design was initially adopted. Thus, the rationale for the design would, it was hoped, allow for the possibility for shifts in thinking regarding the composition of OHR.

2.2.v Ethical Considerations

The British Educational Research Association guidelines (2011:4-10) were drawn upon in preparing for this study in terms of an ethic of respect for the person, knowledge, democratic values and the quality of research (Thomas 2013:38). Participation in the pilot and main study was voluntary and steps were taken to ensure that each participant understood the process in which they were engaged and was clearly informed that their interaction was being monitored and analysed for the purposes of research.

The researcher reflected upon his dual-role as teacher and researcher (Sloan and Bowe 2014) and ensured that the research process would not impinge on the student's

progress through their course. The researcher also undertook to ensure that full confidentiality was maintained for all participants and that they fully understood that they had the right to withdraw at any time without prejudice. None of those taking part was classed as a vulnerable person.

The Cumbria University Research Ethics Policy document was followed and the principles for the integrity of research involving human participants and points 36-42 were applied. Consent was sought and obtained from Cumbria University research ethics panel.

2.2.vi Participants: reasons for selection

Students studying teaching and education at a university in the North West of England were chosen because it was felt that their maturity would allow for a sufficiently deep examination of their thinking as a result of instructional activities on past historical lives. Consequently, this work may also have an impact upon the teaching and education of school pupils studying history in primary school.

There was an opportunity to collect data over a period of three years. This allowed an opportunity to work with up to ten groups of 13 – 25 students who are non-historians and studying education mainly with the intention of gaining Qualified Teacher Status. This provided a convenience sample of sufficient size to enable the research to take place. The data obtained from the first year of the study constituted the pilot sample. Data from year two formed the main study. There had been a potential to collect further data during year three but it was not needed. Data were initially collected from two pilot study participants (with a third interview conducted later in the pilot study)

and 13 main study participants. The interview data from two main study participants were rejected and thus only 11 main study interviews were transcribed and analysed. The instructional opportunity was centred on sessions intended to equip the students with the knowledge and skills to teach history in a primary school. The sessions were organised in multiple 2-3 hour slots, which allowed opportunities to engage in workshop type activities as well as didactic teaching. The university timetable allowed sufficient time for detailed interviews following the instructional activity.

I decided to undertake this process of research in two phases. The pilot phase, in year one allowed for a complete testing and refinement of the research methodology. Phase two would constitute the main study and allow for the collection of data.

2.3 The Pilot Study

2.3.i The Teaching Programme

To develop and refine the model of OHR it was decided to carry out the following. Firstly, incorporate a programme of teaching students about past historical lives into a series of degree pathways for both education studies and QTS (qualified teacher status) students. The taught programme would allow for teaching about a variety of historical periods during discrete short (2 hr.) sessions. All taught sessions would incorporate material culture artefacts as key evidence of past historical lives. Secondly, design and carry out a set of semi-structured interviews with student volunteers who had undertaken the taught programme.

Therefore, a programme was designed where non-specialist teacher trainees could be effectively taught about past lives. The programme was carefully designed to instruct the students on delivering the English National Curriculum (DfE, 2013) which covered

the period from the Lower Palaeolithic (starting around 900,000 years before present) to the Norman invasion of 1066. By student request it also covered the Victorian period and WWI. Therefore, any contextual information given was limited by the nature of the timetable. Around 2 hours were spent on each of the topics. There were four topic sessions altogether (Appendix 2) which covered: 1. The archaeological period to the end of the Iron Age. 2. The Roman occupation. 3. WWI. 4. The Victorians. During each of the sessions there were workshops on instructional methodologies such as the effective use of time-lines, the use of evidence and methods of enquiry. Contextual information was presented that considered an outline of each period and this included reference to its chronological age, a narration of some of the main events, and the use of artefacts as evidence of life during the period. The session designs drew upon my experience of over 30 years as, initially a primary teacher (with some secondary experience), museum educator and finally a specialist university lecturer in history education. This experience had suggested that some strategies were more effective than others for teaching students about past lives. I therefore, incorporated activities such as role-play, where documents sources and poems were read and the use of feature film to develop a non-specialist student's understanding of the historical context. I felt the retention of these strategies was necessary to ensure that the programme, designed to teach students about history and history in education, was fully effective. It was felt that this approach would be essential to promote a contextual understanding of past lives. A key part of each teaching session, however, was the use and handling of genuine material culture artefacts as evidence of past lives. The use of artefacts was repeated at stages through each lecture. Thus,

there would be 4-6 different opportunities to engage with genuine artefacts during each session.

2.3.ii Key Questions to Research

This study is about refining and developing 'Organic Historical Reasoning' (OHR) as a model to explain how non-specialist history students think about historical lives. It sought to explore natural thinking about past lives. There were three areas of interest. First, what types of thinking arise during instructional activity? Second, how do the students describe the process of connecting with past lives? Third, are material culture artefacts an effective part of the instructional process leading to a developing understanding of past lives?

I decided on a cautious approach to the methodology and this resulted in the multi-stage pilot process laid out below. The pilot study interviews were thus conducted with participants who had taken part in the programme outlined below.

2.3.iii Teaching activity

The teaching was centred on developing an understanding of past historical lives through pedagogically well-crafted activities where material culture artefacts played a significant role. Teaching activity would be included as necessary, such as the use of PowerPoint, film, documents and even role-play.

The researcher was able to draw upon large collections of high-quality artefacts for teaching use which represented the material culture of various periods, including pre- and post-Roman, British and world archaeology, Roman archaeology, Victorian Britain, World War I and World War II. These artefacts were broadly mapped to the

requirements of the Primary National Curriculum (DfE, 2013). Some have been illustrated in appendix I.

Planned teaching content (Appendix 2) for the tasks was selected to allow for contextualisation. This was achieved through activity that demonstrated the relevance of the material culture artefact in its chronological period. There was also a handling opportunity to allow the student to have physical contact with the artefact. The planning for the teaching sessions centred on instructional activities which were developments of those described by history educationalists such as, Wallace (2011), Cooper (2010) Card (2010:10-11). Many the strategies chosen had been trialled and published by the researcher (Moore 2004; 2009; 2012; 2013; 2014; 2017) (Moore, Houghton and Angus 2013), (Moore and Ashcroft (2010), Moore et al. (2013, 2017). In addition, the researcher had good knowledge of the periods concerned and had taught most of them on non-specialist history courses, and also at history specialist level.

Three students took place in the pilot interviews (two initially and one later in the pilot period) and 8 students took part in a pilot focus group.

2.3.iv The Pilot-study interviews

The semi-structured interview process was centred on examining the tentative categories outlined in the literature review and in determining whether there were any unexpected components of thinking about past lives. The first iteration of the pilot study was conducted with two participants. This allowed the questioning process to be developed and refined. One further student was questioned during a second iteration of the pilot study. This third interview allowed for a further refinement of the

interview structure through a trialling of thematic analysis, (Braun and Clarke, 2006; 2016) and it also allowed for checking emergent themes.

Interviews were conducted in an office away from the teaching area during the week following the last teaching input. The interviews were each around 40 minutes long and recorded on a digital recorder. Interviews were terminated when there appeared to be a saturation of data.

An interpersonal interview technique attested by Collingridge and Gantt (2008) was drawn upon to ensure validity and counter the scepticism noted by Lyons (2011), which may be applied to qualitative research in a field such as psychology and other social sciences. I conducted all interviews and applied the method in a coherent, non-directive and consistent manner. The participants were asked to narrate their thinking during the four taught sessions at the outset of the interview. Questions and prompts were used to encourage the participants to continue talk about their lines of thought. During the first two interviews prompts were designed to achieve the depth required by the phenomenological approach. During the third and later interview broader lines of thought were explored which were not a match for a phenomenological interview technique. After all the interviews had been conducted they were then listened to and then accurately transcribed.

2.3.v Pilot Data Analysis

The data from the first two interviews were carefully analysed. Following the Literature Review it had been posited that the types of natural thinking that comprised Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR) could be split into four categories, A,B,C,D Category 'A' being related to the historical activity students have encountered.

Category 'B' being thoughts which may relate to the reality of those lives. Category 'C' being attempts to make links with or imagine those past lives. Category 'D' being thoughts which may relate to the participant's own background. However, at this stage, because the overwhelming focus of the educational literature was linked to ideas around empathetic thinking, it was thought that the data obtained would mainly comprise components of thoughts which were linked to both psychological empathy (Ψ_e) and Historical Empathy (HE). Based upon the Literature Review, therefore, it was thought that the data would mainly comprise components of Category C thinking. *'Category C: Sharing in the experience of the past or imagining the past.'* In this category it was proposed that the student may deploy affective HE or Ψ_e in demonstrating that they care for or about a past life. They may attempt to imagine being in the past or to 'see' the past figure in action. Finally, it was thought that they may also attempt to draw inferences about the emotive or cognitive state of the past figure.

Table 2.1, below draws upon Category 'C' in identifying seven possible types of natural thinking which it was felt may occur during the pilot study interviews.

<p>Commonality with people who had lived in the past. This is in terms of behavioural, social, biological, cognitive, affective, conative (obtaining dreams, goals, self-efficacy, need for control) and spiritual needs as humans as shown by, Huitt (2011).</p>
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This may be demonstrated where an artefact prompts a student to think about the reality of past life, perhaps through observing a similarity with their own, for example.

Adaptive guilt. Roberts, Strayer and Denham (2014:465) noted that moderate to high levels of empathy indicated an underlying feeling of similarity and security with others and similarly moderate levels of adaptive guilt suggest evaluations of responsibility. This may be demonstrated where an artefact prompts the student to think about the experience of a WWI soldier, for example.

Artefacts evoke the past. Cronis (2015:180-8) reported that artefacts evoke the presence of the past through the imagination and allow the viewer to enter, into the life lived in the past. Their subjects had reported being 'transported' into the past - some people seemed actively to enter the past in their imaginations while others seemed to find that artefacts intensified their experience of connecting with someone in the past. This may be demonstrated where an artefact such as a Victorian dress prompts the student to imagine the past figure, for example.

Emotional contagion. This was noted from Zaki and Ochner (2012) and describes sensitivity to the pain and distress of others from (Singer, 2008:782; 2013). Note This has been regarded as unhistorical but as these interviews were designed to examine natural thinking it was important to understand whether this type of thinking was taking place.

Appraisal of the self in relation to others and cognitive reappraisal. (Eisenberg and Fabes (1992) and Lockwood, Seara-Cardoso and Viding (2014:1) discuss how emotion regulation is important for linking empathy to pro-social behaviour. This is

about the way we adapt our own thinking to allow ourselves to perceive the experience of others.

Evoking the sensations of historical figures and mentalizing and mirroring. In Christov-Moore et al. (2014:604) it is shown that preconscious mechanisms which underlie the sharing and mimicry of behaviours (known as mirroring) is broadly mapped to affective empathy. There are also deliberative processes which they call mentalizing which lead to inferences about other's bodily and affective states, beliefs and intentions. It may be possible that some artefacts, such as poetry or diary entries (for example) prompt the student to think to reflect on or even unconsciously align with the emotions of the historical figure.

Experiencing the 'pain' of others. Christov- Moore et al. (2014) show that we, as humans, can internally evoke the emotions and sensations of an absent other or importantly, even our own selves at another point in time.

Table 2.1. Types of thinking which might be anticipated during the pilot study

Table 2.1 identifies seven components of natural thinking which may provide examples of Category 'C' thoughts. These were identified during the Literature Review. It was felt that this table may be useful in reaching conclusions about the types of natural thinking that formed the principle components of Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR). It was anticipated that other types of thinking may also occur and, therefore, the researcher would be alert for any unexpected themes.

The work of Vagle, (2014 : 98-100) was used as a pattern for analysing the pilot data. He had outlined the following six steps, which were carefully adopted in analysing the data. Table 2.2, outlines Vagle's (2014) six steps for the analysis of the pilot study data.

Step one. A holistic reading of an entire transcript without taking notes – to reacquaint the researcher with the data.

Step two. First line-by-line reading, leading to careful note taking, to indicate where there may be initial meanings such as inductive reasoning (where a student uses their contact with an artefact to theorize about past lives). This will also include making notes that indicate passages where there are questions - this is a process that Vagle calls 'Bridling' and allows topics to be further explored in a journal designed for this purpose. For example, the researcher noted that student 'B' appears to be engaging in an appraisal of the self in relation to historical figures.

Step three. Follow-up questions: the remainder of the transcripts are then read in a similar manner and the margin notes for each are reviewed. This allowed the researcher to craft follow-up questions, which clarified intentional meanings which might be important to the analysis.

Step four. Second line-by-line reading. During this second reading there may be further articulation of the student's transcript. Then a new document is created where all the statements which may contribute to the student's text are

collated, for example, through highlighting other statements which allude to student 'B's' appraisal of self.
Step five. This analytic approach is continued in the third line-by-line reading.
Step six. Subsequent readings allow the articulation of themes that occur across subjects. For instance, the appraisal processes displayed by student 'B' can also be equated to that of 'A' as they experienced 'linked thoughts' about the historical figures they encountered.

Table 2.2. Vagle's six steps for analysing phenomenological data.

Table 2.1 outlines Vagle's six steps for analysing phenomenological data. These steps were carefully followed in analysing the transcript data of pilot study participants 1 and 2.

2.3.vi Main findings of the first pilot study

Both participants engaged in natural thinking about past historical figures that could be construed as being empathetic. However, this was less noticeable for participant A than for participant B. The data appeared to demonstrate the following types of thinking which were linked to Category 'C', *'Sharing in the experience of the past or imagining the past.'* Firstly, commonality with historical figures; secondly, limited signs of adaptive guilt; and thirdly, an appraisal of self in relation to others.

However, unexpected data also arose which did not seem to emanate from Category 'C'. For instance, one participant made un-prompted references to her own background during the interviews; participant A discussed the area of the town where her family had lived for generations. It was also noted that both participants had clearly made a connection to the artefacts, with participant B making strong comparisons between the past and present, which did not appear to be empathetic. Participant B had also given thought to the pedagogical value of the activities in terms of her own practice. Finally, it was noted that both participants appeared to be interested in the authenticity of the artefacts.

2.3 vii Evaluation of Pilot Study

After the pilot process it was apparent that during the initial interviews the interviewer had felt it difficult to maintain the phenomenological stance because it appeared to do two things. Firstly, it seemed to limit the scope of the participant responses. Secondly, it appeared to encourage participants to overstate their empathetic experiences.

Prior to the pilot study it had been thought that the principle components of Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR) would be linked to Ψ_e and HE. These were described during the Literature Review as Category 'C' thinking, 'Sharing in the experience of the past or imagining the past.' However, it was found that the first two pilot participants made references to other elements of their interaction with the taught sessions in that they were demonstrating strong thoughts about other things, for example, their own locality, the authenticity of artefacts and the pedagogical activity itself. These may have been examples of other categories of thinking, Category 'A' being related to the

historical activity students have encountered. Category 'B' which are thoughts related to the reality of those lives. Category 'D' thoughts which may relate to the participant's own background. Indeed, the third interview which was conducted after the phenomenological approach had been abandoned appeared to reflect these broader themes. It was thought, therefore, in following up these responses, interesting additional data may be yielded through adopting a questioning strategy which was not phenomenological and would allow for the broader themes to be explored further.

This research had been designed to provide structured instructional activities for the students to engage with material culture during a normal taught course. This was intended to allow them to link their intentional thoughts and internal dialogue about the evidence provided. In doing so it was hoped that they may demonstrate Category 'C' type thoughts (both Ψ_e and HE) towards past lives that could be examined.

However, in the light of the pilot study the question of what the participants' intentionality related to was raised. Could their thinking, for example, be both directed towards the real primary target (the past historical lives) and also be related to (in their minds) something else? For example, the participant's thoughts about their home location and family history. It was felt, therefore, that the main study methodology should allow for the further exploration of any such unexpected thinking.

It was also noted that the pilot study participants seemed to be using the material culture artefacts as a catalyst to engage in thinking about the past. In terms of using activity to uncover intentionality towards material culture within education there is an established repertoire of suggested activity but very little research. Within museum settings there has, however, been investigation into the relationship between the museum visitor and the historical artefact exhibits on display (Crowshaw, 2007;

Cronis, 2015; Bucciantini, 2009). Studies, such as those of Bucciantini (2009) have led to suggestions that the viewer's thinking may extend beyond empathy, as they encounter material culture. Therefore, it was determined that for the main study it may be useful to further explore the thinking of the participants in relation to the artefacts.

2.3.viii Revising the methodology

Qualitative research is complex, diverse and nuanced (Holloway and Todres 2003) and thus the difficulty now lay in re-designing the data collection process for the main study to yield rich and meaningful data that may help uncover the nature of OHR. It was felt that a semi-structured interview process remained as the most likely to obtain the required data but that a phenomenological questioning stance seemed to lead participants to overstate some elements of their thinking about the instructional activities. In addition, it was also noted that such a questioning stance may be hiding the broad range of thoughts that may be significant components of OHR. Therefore, a phenomenological approach was abandoned.

Focus groups and auto-driving were given a short trial

Further thought was then given to other methods of obtaining data that might be appropriate to educational groups. Zabloski and Milacci (2012:6) had discussed the idea of lenses through which the qualitative researcher views the detailed story of the participant and this was of interest because it would allow participants to narrate their thoughts about past lives through an artefact that they had chosen. It was hoped that such an approach would give the participants a chance to discuss all areas of their

engagement with past lives and, therefore, offer a balanced view of the role of Ψ e and HE. A similar methodology had also been outlined by McEachern and Cheetham (2013) whereby a photograph had been used to allow the participant to control the interview. It was felt that such a process may allow for the possibility of gaining rich insights into the complex interaction between the participant and the material culture. There were also further precedents for using this so-called auto-driving from photos through techniques such as photo-elicitation (Ryan and Ogilvie 2011) and photo-voice (Brunsden and Goatcher (2007). This suggested the possibility of an adaption to photo-elicitation where participants auto-drive the interview via their own choice of artefacts. This seemed to be a good idea because it was felt that the presence of the artefacts that had been used during the teaching would act as prompts and, thereby, increase the depth of the participant responses.

Additionally, Levitt and Muir (2014:233) used prompts for focus groups who were recorded as they took part in open-ended discussions through using artefact prompts. It was thought that a group discussion would allow for a fuller examination of background thoughts as it was hoped that peers would prompt each other. Therefore, it was decided to combine the idea outlined above and to use artefacts to auto-drive the data gathering during focus group sessions. A focus group of eight was then convened to test the idea of using self-selected artefacts to auto-drive data gathering interviews.

The focus group lasted for 45 minutes and yielded some potentially useful data, the main findings of which are as follows. Firstly, material artefacts could lead to thoughts about past historical lives. Secondly, participants applied their own background

knowledge when thinking about past lives. Thirdly, some participants appeared to engage in mentalizing about the bodily and affective states of the historical figures. However, it was felt, through analysis, that this method may encourage the participant to describe the emotions they ascribed to the user of the material culture without reference to the contextual information presented during the taught session. Additionally, this seemed to over focus the participants on particular artefacts or material culture groups – in effect auto-driving a response that narrowed rather than widened potential discussion around a student’s thinking. This meant that it may potentially lead to a narrower conception of OHR than would potentially be the case if an effective individual interview process was used.

Additionally, it was noted that the group almost seemed to be competitive as participants appeared to want to demonstrate how much history they knew and this meant that two of the participants were dominant whilst two others made very limited contributions. For these reasons the focus group approach was also abandoned.

Overview of the main methodology

The overwhelming focus of the literature review explored historical empathy (HE) as a way of explaining how students may think about past lives. The focus of this study, however, lay in attempting to uncover what may constitute organic or natural thinking about past lives. As part of this study it was also thought that it would be important to investigate whether such organic thinking resembled HE. Thus, it was notable that the pilot stage had appeared to suggest that the students engaged in a number of ways of thinking about past lives which only bore a limited resemblance to HE.

The main study interviews would, therefore, allow for a fuller exploration of the thinking uncovered during the pilot interviews and, importantly, allow for the possibility of uncovering unexpected thinking about past lives. Consequently, a case-study approach was used, employing semi-structured interviews. It was felt that this would be the best way to uncover any natural and unexpected thinking. To achieve this it was felt that questions should be primarily used as prompts to explore lines of thought established by the students themselves rather than to direct the course of the interview. It was felt that such lightly structured questions would avoid the danger of prompting students to discuss themes which had been highlighted from the literature.

To allow for a sufficiently close examination of the resulting interview data the main study analysis followed a route suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006, 2009). This is a thematic analysis with a hybrid grounded first phase. Table 2.3 (page 142) and Figure 1.1 (page 109) had suggested potential themes based upon the literature review. Figure 1.1 identified four categories of thinking which may represent a student's natural thoughts about past lives. It was felt that the dual approach to the data analysis would allow for a careful investigation of all these possibilities in relation to the data. The grounded first data analysis phase was based upon the work of Holton (2007,2010). It was felt that this careful initial coding of all incidents within the data would additionally allow for the detection of further and unexpected lines of thinking which were not covered by Table 2.3 or Figure 1.1. To achieve sufficient depth a wide ranging sweep of all the main study data was made. This involved generating a large number of initial codes through examining all the data incidents recorded during the interviews. The grounded process of 'constant comparison' then allowed for the

generation of initial themes which were suggestive of what may constitute the student's natural thinking. According to Thomas (2013 :239) grounded type theory lets ideas emerge from an immersion in the data and does not emanate from a set of 'fixed' ideas about the data.

Thematic analysis has similarities to grounded theory especially as it involves an element of 'constant comparison' (Thomas, 2013 :235 ; Braun and Clarke, 2016). This type of analysis, however, is centred on a search for data extracts which are related to core shared meanings (Braun and Clarke, 2016). These themes are then captured, recognised and noticed early in the analytic process and emerge through engagement with both theory and the data. Coding then becomes a search for evidence of those themes. A structured coding system helps to guide this process. Therefore, it was thought that the use of Braun and Clarke's (2006 :87) six step analysis would be a suitable guide for this stage. Indeed, it was thought that this form of analysis would allow for a further refinement of those themes that emerged both from the initial grounded coding and the second stage thematic coding. Significantly the final stages of the six step analysis would also allow for a comparison of any overarching themes which eventually emerged from the data and those themes suggested by the literature review.

In this way it was felt that the hybrid thematic approach discussed above would allow for a thorough examination of the data.

2.3.ix The strands of thinking which a subject may apply to past historical figures

The pilot study had been useful in that it suggested that the use of material culture artefacts during teaching could promote natural thinking about past historical lives which may form components of OHR. However, the range of thinking was broader than previously thought and seemed to connect to the participant's own lives and backgrounds. It was also noted that the activities seemed to promote thoughts about their pedagogical value although it was not at this stage known whether this would constitute a significant component of OHR.

2.3.x Data to be anticipated in the main study

Based upon the pilot studies, my own experience and the reading discussed in chapter 1 the following data may, therefore, be anticipated in exploring the participant's OHR. This suggests there may be broad alignments between the data from the pilot study and the four categories of thinking which comprise model '1' which was suggested as a result of the literature in Chapter 1.

Figure 1.1 from Chapter 1 showed four strands of thinking which a subject may apply to past historical figures and arose through the literature.

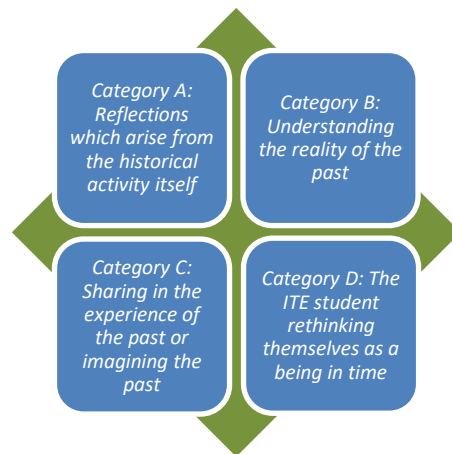


Figure 1.1. p.102 shows a tentative model which was arrived at through reflection on the models of thinking in Chapter 1.

In this model OHR is broken into four strands of thinking about past historical figures. Category 'A' being related to the historical activity students have encountered. Category 'B' is thoughts related to the reality of those lives. Category 'C' are attempts to make links with or imagine those past lives. Category 'D' thoughts appeared to relate to the participant's own background. The pilot study data and the literature suggested that the following may be important elements of students' natural thinking about past lives. Table 2.3 shows five orders of thinking which arose from the literature review which may comprise OHR.

Evidence of the way in which the participant made HE connections with past lives (Collingwood, 1939, 1946; Johnson, 1998:1-2; Henderson and Levistik, 2016).
Evidence of Ψ_e as well as shared feelings or socio-cognitive connections with other lives, (Preckel, Kanske and Singer, 2018; Zaki, Bolger and Ochsner, 2008:6; Lockwood, Seara-Cardoso and Viding; 2014:1-2 ; Singer, 2008:782, 2013).
Evidence of how OHR may involve processes such as re-modelling themselves in time (Manning, Cassel and Cassel, 2013:233-4, Wheeler et al. 1997:331-5; Waytz, Hershfield and Tamir, 2015:336; Spzunar, 2011:409).
Evidence of how OHR may make the reality of the past apparent to the participant, (Koopman, 2015:118-19, Busch, 2011:193).
Evidence for related pedagogical thinking.

Table 2.3. Orders of thinking suggested by the Literature Review and the pilot study that may form components of OHR

Table 2.3 contains five orders of thinking that were suggested through the Literature Review and the pilot study that may form components of Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR)

2.4. The Main Study

2.4.i Sample Size

It was thought that the sample size for the main study would be significant in determining the quality of this study. This was because where a large sample size may provide a higher level of evidence about the nature of OHR it would allow for less detail and, consequently, fewer opportunities to uncover unexpected thinking. Since the nature of natural thinking about past lives was unclear it, seemed that a small sample size would allow for the exploration of more detailed responses from the subjects. It was noted that sufficiently rich data were achieved in similar studies which used small sample sizes, for instance Brunsdon and Goatcher (2007) and Zabloski and Milacci (2012) achieved saturation of data at between 4 and 12 interviews. The subsequent design of study is, therefore, centred on an intended sample size of 8-16 participants who would be invited for individual interviews.

2.4.ii Data Collection

It was felt that the pilot studies had provided an indication of some themes that may constitute OHR but that the full scope of these was unclear. The potential themes were Historical Empathy (HE) and psychological empathy (Ψ_e), other undefined psychological processes, wider thinking (possibly about the participant's own

knowledge, locality and other elements of their background) thoughts about the reality of the past and, finally, pedagogical thoughts.

The pilot study had demonstrated that a semi-structured interview process which led to a thematic data analysis may be effective in yielding the broad range of responses which would be required for the main study. Therefore, a hybrid thematic analysis was considered carefully for this phase, namely Braun and Clarke's (2016:741-742) 'organic thematic analysis.' This would be a thematic approach with a grounded first coding. It was thought that a grounded first coding would initially provide for a wide and comprehensive sweep of the data which would uncover any themes that may be unexpected. It was additionally thought that thematic analysis would allow for a confirmation of the overarching themes that constituted OHR.

The research subjects

The 11 research subjects were all participants in a range of normal taught sessions centred on developing an understanding of past historical lives through pedagogically well-crafted activity where material culture artefacts played a significant role. Other activities included, as necessary, the use of PowerPoint, film, documents and even role-play. The selection of participants was purposive in that students were only selected to take part in the interviews if they had attended all the taught sessions and did not hold a higher qualification in history such as an 'A' level, A2 or a Scottish Higher.

The interviews

The 11 interviews in the main study (see Appendix 3) ranged between 14:04 and 33:58 minutes. Similarly, to the pilot process interviews were conducted in an office away

from the teaching area during the week following the last taught session. The interviews were recorded on a digital recorder and terminated when there was a saturation of data. As before, an interpersonal interview technique attested by Collingridge and Gantt (2008) was used and questions and prompts were drawn from a core list, although follow-up questions could be fashioned in response to statements from the participants. The same basic framework of an in-depth discussion was applied to all interviews. The framework was as follows.

Sufficient time was taken to establish a rapport with the interviewee (Thomas, 2013:194) and set them at their ease prior to the interview. For example, there was a discussion of topics which were unrelated to the interviews such as the weather, health or other topics of interest. Setting the interviewees at their ease was regarded as being important because of the relatively unstructured format of the interviews. This loose structure was a significant feature of the interviews because it was felt that to explore and detect unexpected and expected lines of natural thinking required an almost un-predetermined conversational approach (Thomas, 2013:197). Indeed, it was thought that a structure where a set of pre-determined questions were asked would be too rigid a format (Thomas, 2013:198) for exploring unexpected lines of natural thinking. However, it was thought that some prompts would be needed, for instance the interviewees were asked, at the outset of the interview, to narrate their thinking which had occurred during the four taught sessions. Questions and prompts were then used to encourage the participants to continue talk about those lines of thought. When the interviewer felt that a topic was exhausted he would use a further question to prompt possible new lines of thought. These questions may link to a new topic or something expressed earlier during the interview. For instance, where it was

apparent that a participant had particularly engaged with the Victorians, the researcher might ask them what they were thinking, as they handled the dress or the photographs. A range of prompts were used to encourage the interviewee to discuss or continue to talk about topics of interest.

Examples of key questions and prompts:

- Can you describe your thinking during...
- That is interesting. Or, that is very interesting.
- Repetition of phrase used by the participant; i.e. 'The German soldiers?'
- How did you feel about...? Or, Why?
- What else were you thinking about during the sessions?
- Affirmatives; yes, ok, right etc.
- Can you tell me about...? Or, Tell me about...?
- Could you narrate how you felt about...?
- What effect did it have upon you?
- What did you see, or think?
- Other questions which highlighted thoughts that the participant has already alluded to.

I conducted all interviews and applied the method in a coherent, non-directive and consistent manner. All participants were encouraged to discuss any of the sessions they wished to cover. For instance, they could focus purely on WWI if they wished to do so. All participants were encouraged to give full and detailed replies prior to the commencement of the interview. The same basic framework was applied to all the interviews. Notes were made about each interview and they were transcribed in

batches as the interviews progressed to establish when a saturation of data had been reached.

Note: 13 interviews were originally recorded but two were rejected. The first of these rejections was a 19 minute interview with a male participant who made strong references to sport throughout the conversation. References to sport were not significant in any of the other interviews and, therefore, it was rejected. The second interview was 9 minutes long and was conducted with a particularly reticent female whom I, as the researcher, often had to lead in her responses. Interview No.1 a female (15.08mins) was also initially considered for rejection because the participant was unresponsive during the first phase of the interview which resulted in a high number of prompts. However, after coding it was noted that her later replies (which were not highly prompted) contained potentially useful data.

Four of the participants chose mainly to discuss the WWI session. For convenience these interviews were transcribed as nos. 8,9,10 and 11 (see Appendix 3).

2.4.iii Data Recording

All interviews were recorded. As Holton (2007) advocated, field notes about each interview were also made and used to establish when a saturation of data had been achieved during the initial data collection. The interviews (totalling 28,960 (29,317) words or 67 pages of A4 transcript) were subjected to analysis and were transcribed in batches in order to establish when a saturation of data had been reached.

2.4.iv Data Coding

Coding Stage 1

The first exploratory analysis was conducted using 'grounded level' coding as a pattern (Holton, 2007:265-289; 2010; Schreiber and Stern, 2001; Ralph et al., 2015). Holton provided reassurance that such an application of grounded theory could lead via a process of de-limitation from the initial codes towards being able to define core themes or concepts. It was important that during the initial phase all 'incidents' were coded to try and ensure that all possible themes had been uncovered from the data. When this was complete a 'constant comparison' was undertaken to establish uniformity across the data and allow for the generation of emerging concepts that were a good representation of the interviewee responses. The emerging concepts were then compared to the initial codes which allowed for the generation of themes/concepts and hypotheses. Finally, the emerging concepts were compared to each other to allow for the refinement of the initial hypotheses/themes. These were then checked back against the data to ensure they were robust and a good fit. These were then set aside for later comparison to the second coding and the rest of Holton's (2010) methodology was not followed.

Data coding stage 2

During stage 2 the data was subject to a second inductive re-coding process, which was modelled on Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic six step analysis. This re-coding was independent of the first and was undertaken 4 weeks after the original coding. This allowed me to re-familiarise myself with the data as demanded by step one of Braun and Clarke (2006). This re-coding was helpful as I wanted to ensure that no

unexpected themes had been missed. The step 2 (second coding) allowed for the generation of 19 codes. Following step three of Braun and Clarke's (2006) six step model the codes were then collated into potential themes. In order to produce the collated themes the second coding was compared to the initial themes (concepts) from the stage 1 first coding. It was felt that aligning stage one and two provided a good triangulation of the initial themes. Steps four and five then allowed for the overarching themes to be defined and refined.

The defining and refining produced four overarching themes. These overarching themes were then deductively re-applied, to establish their frequency across the whole data set. This re-testing of the overarching themes indicated that the model of OHR which emerged was a good fit for the data.

2.5 Data Analysis

The main method of data gathering proposed was a modified version of Braun and Clark's (2006; 2016) six step approach to thematic analysis. This was done to enable the determination of patterns and themes across the data. My method of analysis was similar to that used by Smith (2017:119-123). Topics that can be examined through thematic analysis include those where an understanding of experiences, perceptions, and causal factors underlying phenomena is required (Fugard and Potts 2015: 669-670; Braun and Clark, 2013:44-55). This makes it a suitable vehicle for examining OHR, which may be constituted through a natural combination of the subject's own experiences and perceptions of historical lives.

Stage 1 of the analysis was through a grounded approach. Grounded theory was used as a recipe to guide the initial inductive (without attempting to fit to the coding frame)

analysis. This was because the pilot phases had demonstrated that OHR may be partly composed of unexpected themes. Therefore, it was seen to be important that the research and refinement of OHR should be allowed to evolve through the initial coding process (Braun and Clark, 2006:84; Braun and Clarke, 2016:741-742). This is conceptualised as an 'organic thematic analysis' (Braun and Clarke 2016:739-743) which could allow for an inductive phase which was inherently exploratory and subjective. I used this for three reasons. Firstly, to allow for the detection of any unexpected themes which may be significant within OHR. Secondly, in order develop my own confidence as a new researcher, (Smith, 2017:119; Braun and Clarke, 2006:78). Thirdly, to ensure that all themes are a close match for the data itself (Schreiber, 2001:55-57; Braun and Clarke, 2006:80, 83). It was hoped that this approach was consistent with the need for sound reasoning and clarity about how the interpretation of the data has been achieved. This approach is also similar in style to that of Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006:82) who advocated using both hybrid deductive and inductive analysis phases. However, I decided not to use grounded theory during the second stage of analysis because I was not seeking to determine patterning or frequency across the data (Braun and Clarke 2016:741-742). Nor was I trying to 'give voice' or use 'snippet data' (Schreiber and Stern 2001) to represent my participants. I was looking instead for themes that showed prevalence across the data.

2.5.i Rationale for the chosen methods of data analysis: Stage 1, the grounded level process

According to Schreiber and Stern (2001:3-4) grounded theory is most often used when investigating a behavioural concept or a behavioural phenomenon. This was originally

designed as a process where the resulting theory which consists of phases or stages and relates a basic social, psychological or structural process. These would then become a central theme which unites the categories and explains the variation in the data. This is a trajectural way of obtaining data which should be temporal – similar they say to stories with a beginning middle and an end and not ‘snippet data’ which is obtained in response to a question. This, they explain, leads to a preliminary understanding of the domain or ‘what is going on’. They say that it does not work with ‘snippet data’ because that does not contain the in-depth stories that are gained from retrospective accounts of an experience. Schreiber (2001:55-57) observes that it is an intuitive rather than formulaic method where data are coded in stages that are compared and allow the researcher to generate hypotheses that can be re-tested. They liken it to distilling an understanding of the experience of the participant. Milliken and Schreiber (2001:178) argue that symbolic interactionism is a perspective that ‘illuminates the relationship between individuals and society, as mediated by symbolic communication.’ This is helpful in that it allows us as researchers to look beyond behaviour to the underlying meaning that motivates it.

Ralph et al. (2015) engage with the ongoing debate over grounded theory and view it as having considerably evolved since Glaser and Strauss’ original work in 1967. They see the theory as having ‘methodological dynamism’ (p.1) and emphasise the need for individual researchers to have ontological and epistemological self-awareness (p.2) when applying it. This will be a particularly appropriate method of data analysis as I already hold a strong ontological perspective grounded in my 30+ years of experience as an educator.

A grounded approach may allow for the breadth of data exploration needed. Firstly, it could allow for an exploration of all dimensions of the participant's experience, particularly any unexpected thinking. Secondly, it may allow for data to be coded along broad themes, which would enable an examination of thinking that was associated with a developing understanding of past historical lives.

Johnson (2014) discusses the benefits of a mixed theoretical framework for collecting and analysing data and reflects on the work of Charmaz as she debates contextualisation and triangulation. Thus, an excellent product of this stage 1 coding is that it may provide a useful triangulation of the thematic approach in stage 2. In other words, it would provide reassurance that themes which were apparent through the data had not been missed, especially themes that may run counter to my own ontological perspective.

2.5.ii Stage two of the data analysis: thematic analysis

Thematic analysis would be used for the second stage of the main study. This is a method of data collection that allows for my own researcher judgment (Braun and Clarke 2006:82), both in determining the nature of themes and the '*keyness*' of those themes. Indeed, thematic analysis goes beyond theme-counting to allow for the identification of both implicit and explicit ideas (Fugard and Potts 2015:669). Thematic analysis would be employed to provide a rich and deep description of the whole data set, which is capable of reflecting the complexity of the responses. Therefore, mine would be a theoretically flexible approach to analysing qualitative data as advocated by Braun and Clark (2006:77) in relation to different ontological and epistemological positions. Braun and Clarke (2006:78) argued that thematic analysis can be a

foundational tool for qualitative research that provides a sufficiently complex account of the data.

In addition, during both the first and second stages, the analysis of the responses would be considered at an epistemological level. In other words, how deeply would I, as researcher, pursue meanings from the participants. Would latent or underlying meanings be looked for (or interpreted) rather than semantic (surface) meanings? (Braun and Clarke 2006:85). The guiding epistemological approach to the interpretation of latent meanings was very carefully considered. This was because latent meanings are often explored from a constructionist point of view (Braun and Clarke 2006:85). A constructionist epistemological approach posits that meaning and experience are socially produced and re-produced rather than inhering in individuals (Burr 2015) and this initially seemed most likely to explain the possible dimensions of OHR. In other words, OHR may have been best explained as a socially constructed response to encountering historical evidence of past lives. Constructionist reasoning is, however, less likely to relate to individual psychologies. From a constructionist perspective it would be most likely that the socio-cultural context of OHR would be explored rather than individual motivations or psychologies (Braun and Clarke 2006:85). However, a re-examination of the pilot data revealed two things. Firstly, it was very difficult to ascribe latent meanings to the data and secondly, many of the responses seemed to demonstrate a closer relationship to individual motivation and psychologies than socio-cultural responses. In contrast, therefore, an essentialist/realist epistemology would allow for the theorization of motivation, experience and meaning in a straightforward way because a unidirectional relationship would be assumed between language, meaning and experience (Braun

and Clarke 2006:85; Widdercombe and Wooffit 1995; Vagle, 2014:59-61; Van Manen, 1990). This had been tested during the pilot phase and was useful in informing the sematic approach taken in analysing the thematic data. Thus, meanings would be ascribed to the data at a surface level. In other words, I would accept the surface meaning of participant responses rather than trying to discover underlying or latent meanings.

To provide an opportunity for analysis (so as not simply to undertake a confirmation of themes identified from the literature) great care was taken with the formulation of a question (and sub-questions) which may allow for an examination of all the constituents of OHR. As this was examining natural thinking I would especially be on the alert for unexpected themes during the interviews.

Braun and Clarke (2006:87) propose the following six-step model for the thematic analysis. They describe it as a recursive model whereby the researcher moves backwards and forwards through the steps to progressively refine ideas. The addition of a second discrete coding process in my own data analysis may mean that the generation of codes which are grounded in the original data can be iterative and reflexive Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006:83). Table 2.4 shows the six steps of Braun and Clarke's (2006:87) six step thematic analysis.

<p>Step one. Familiarize yourself with the data: transcribe the data and then read and re-read the data. Make notes about initial ideas.</p>

<p>Step two. Generate initial codes: code interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set. Collate data relevant to each code.</p>

<p>Step three. Search for themes: collate codes into potential themes. Gather all data relevant to each potential theme.</p>
<p>Step four. Review themes: check to see if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts and the entire data set. Generate a thematic 'map' of the analysis.</p>
<p>Step five. Define and name the themes: undertake ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme and the overall story the analysis tells. Generate clear definitions and names for each theme.</p>
<p>Step six. Produce the report: this is the final opportunity for analysis. Select vivid, compelling extract samples. Undertake a final analysis of the selected extracts and relate it back to the analysis, the research question and literature. Produce a scholarly report of the analysis.</p>

Table 2.4. The six steps of Braun and Clarke's (2006:87) thematic analysis.

Table 2.4 lists the six-step analysis of Braun and Clarke (2006:87). This format will be applied in analysing the data from the main study.

2.6 Conclusion

2.6.i Discussion of Validity and reliability

Weis and Willems (2017:224) point out that generalising and transferring research findings to other contexts and interpreting them so that conclusions can be made are aims of both quantitative and qualitative research. One of the ways in which they explain that this may be done is through the creation of coding systems and thematic coding. This they said (p.231) would allow relevant topics which had been theoretically

determined beforehand to be applied in understanding data which arises from a study. This is because the categories would be developed inductively after summarising, clarifying and differentiating the material. Thomas (2013:275) relates the generalising process to the drawing out of theory. By this he means that it is the links between the mass of the data and theory that provides crystallisation points to which little theories can attach themselves. These, he says are accretions of ideas and insights.

The method of data collection described above in sections 2.4-2.5 is sufficiently robust to investigate the research question. This is because the data gathering approach was tested during the the pilot studies and revealed a variety of examples of student thinking about past lives. Insights from the pilot study data fell into different categories (Figure 2.1) which had similarities to those identified in Chapter 1, 'Review of the Literature'. In addition, the Review of Literature suggested that a wider range of responses within these categories may also be possible. The method of data analysis is robust in that the first method of coding, at a grounded level, based on Holton (2007; 2010) is intended to capture all incidents from the data. This would allow for the crystallisation of both expected and unexpected responses because the information noted from the literature review can then be inductively re-applied to the data through a further process of thematic analysis. The second independent method of data coding, a thematic analysis (Based on Braun and Clark 2006), therefore, will follow the initial grounded coding to provide a further opportunity for crystallisation. This will allow for both the expected and unexpected themes to emerge and be further refined. This 'mixed methods' approach is encouraged by Braun and Clarke (2016:739-743) and Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006:82) who discuss the possibilities offered by mixed organic and hybrid phases of research. This multi-level exploration of emergent

themes will allow for the possibility that the overarching themes which eventually emerge will be sufficiently robust to be generalisable to similar situations where students are being taught about past lives.

It is, therefore, likely that replications of this study would have similar findings. The findings may apply to related settings where history is being taught. This is because both history teacher educators and their non-specialist history students have similar backgrounds. Those educating primary students necessarily have experience of history and of primary school teaching approaches. It is highly likely that the pedagogical approach taken here is similar other history education courses for generalist primary students. It is, therefore, felt that where these non-specialist students are being taught about history through a mixed pedagogical approach and using artefacts as evidence similar research would yield similar findings.

The strength, transferability and impact of qualitative research has been emphasised by Dadds (2008). She refers to 'empathetic validity' which, she says, can make a difference in terms of both connectedness and growth in human relationships within the classroom. In this she is commenting on the idea that practice-based research is a potent form of professional development that can lead to a methodology for change that links the growth of mind, the growth of feeling and the phenomena of human connectedness. She also discusses the idea that monolithic adult-centred views of problems (as we may conceive HE to be) can be transformed in the light of new knowledge and through empathetic engagement with the world. In other words, this body of work may help the educator to move beyond their own frame of reference and see the world through the student's eyes. This is because the orthodox

explanation of historical thinking about past lives (HE) may be reframed to offer a better insight into how a student actually thinks about past historical lives.

For these reasons it is considered that the methodology devised for this study is both valid, reliable and potentially useful.

Chapter 3

Analysis of the research data to identify key themes

Introduction

This chapter describes the grounded and thematic approach, used to analyse the data in the main study. It reflects on the six-stage model of Braun and Clark (2006) and the grounded approach of Holton (2007, 2010) and others.

3.1 Description of the data analysis of the main study

To familiarise myself fully with the data I listened carefully to all 11 interviews before transcribing them. The interviews were transcribed in three batches. When all the transcriptions were complete, they were read and re-read. At this stage the participant numbers were applied. Following the final re-reading the data were analysed and coded twice to check for emergent themes.

The first open coding resulted in 72 initial open codes. This coding was then subjected to a 'comparative' reductive analysis. During this analysis codes which naturally aligned were placed into 14 initial concepts.

During the second coding the data were subject to a second inductive re-coding process which was modelled on Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic six step analysis. This re-coding was independent of the first and was undertaken 4 weeks after the original coding. This allowed the researcher to re-familiarise himself with the data as demanded by step one of Braun and Clarke (2006). This re-coding was helpful as I wanted to ensure that unexpected themes had not been missed. The second coding allowed for the generation of 19 codes. Following step three of Braun and Clarke

(2006) the codes were collated into potential themes. To produce the potential themes the second coding was compared to the initial concepts from the stage 1 first coding. It was felt that aligning stages one and two provided a good triangulation of the initial overarching themes. Steps four and five then allowed for the overarching themes to be defined and refined.

The defining and refining produced four overarching themes. These overarching themes were then deductively re-applied to establish their frequency across the whole data set. This re-testing of the overarching themes indicated that the overarching themes were a good fit for the data.

3.1.i The First coding.

The purpose of the first 'grounded level' pattern coding was to try and capture all the meaningful incidents and link them to possible themes that may emerge later in the data analysis. Holton (2007:265-289; 2010) was used as a pattern for the grounded coding. Due to the constraints of a busy timetable the coding was undertaken after all the data had been collected. During the initial open line-by-line coding all cogent replies were carefully considered and all 'incidents' were given a discrete code. This was an iterative process (obtained after three sweeps of the data) whereby codes were constantly verified against the rest of the data and memos were kept which allowed patterns to emerge. Similarly, to Holton (2010) I noted that many of my open codes were highly descriptive and somewhat repetitive. This was despite writing memos of my analytic thoughts. Once the initial open coding had been done the 'constant comparative' process was useful in reducing the number of codes to initial themes or concepts/hypotheses. Where a subsequent reply appeared to be about the

same thing it was given the same code. Where appropriate statements could be given more than one code. Codes were given on a semantic basis (according to the meaning of the words rather than the latent meaning) (Braun and Clarke, 2006:85; Widdicombe and Wooffit, 1995; Vagle, 2014:59-61; Van Manen, 1990). For example, early in the data analysis it was noted that many of the participants were displaying high levels of pedagogical awareness. Thus code 12, 'Valued the activity and considering the possibility of carrying out the activity with children' constituted an example of how decisions were made regarding the application of code numbers. For example, in the following code 12 statement participant no. 2 indicates she is thinking about how she might re-create an activity in her own practice.

(2) It was an opportunity when you got the dress for me to re-imagine that lesson things that you could perhaps add to that lesson with the children because they were year six and so it would be interesting to take some of those ideas.

Not all code 12 decisions were as straightforward. In this reply participant No.3 appears to be expressing pleasure and has become interested in the way the archaeology artefacts formed a time-line activity. This was a more difficult decision but was recorded as a code 12 because the participant indicated that she had linked the artefacts with the concept of a time-line:

(3) Emmm. They were like treasure – pieces of treasure and I didn't initially realise that it was umm a timeline – so that was interesting.

Some statements were hard to apply to a single code. In the statement below no. 4 is thinking about the Roman dice (artefact 2, appendix I) and relating it to a modern one. This meant that it constituted a code 61, which was about the nature of the artefact

in relation to the present. However, here the mention of both foam dice and many school subjects in which it could be used clearly indicates that she is considering how she may use such an artefact in school and, therefore, it was also noted as a code 12.

(4) That's what we have, that's the only thing that's changed although some are bigger now. You can get big foam dice and stuff. So, we've adapted the dice to whatever we wanted to fit. You can use it in so many subjects as well the dice.

This first coding process, therefore, led to the creation of 72 codes. The aim of this coding had been to try and capture all possible themes that emerged from the data and consequently a large number of codes were created. It was felt at this stage that this high number would potentially allow for a deep examination of the emergent (and possibly unpredictable) themes that may constitute OHR. Figure 3.1 shows the 72 codes which arose from the first coding. The codes have been shown aligned with initial concepts and the number in brackets indicates the original code given.

- 1. Places:
 - Reflection related to things from their own locality. (1)
 - Reflection on museum visits. (37)
 - Reflection on places visited. (2)
- 2. Family:
 - Association with people known to the participant. (41)
 - Reflection on stories about family or very close friends. (3)
- 3. Photographs:

- Reflection on the relationship between an artefact and a photograph. (62)
- Reflection on photos. (38)
- Reflection on seeing past figures through photographs etc. (4)
- 4. Story:
 - An expression of the desire for story. (29)
 - Reflection on hearing stories from the past. (5)
 - Reflection on story. (39)
 - Reflection on hearing a real story from the past. (7)
 - Reflection that the story can be powerful. (65)
 - Reflection on teaching and story. (67)
- 5. Film:
 - Reflection on the use of film. (19)
 - Reflection on watching film. (60)
- 6. Real lives:
 - Reflection on a separation from the reality of the past experience. (53)
 - Being engaged with thinking about past lives. (9)
 - Engaging with the reality of past lives. (10)
 - Reflection on understanding how something was done in the past. (6)
 - Reflection on the feelings of past figures. (24)
 - Reflection on the actions of past figures. (31)
 - Having ideas about the historic figures who used the artefact. (15)
- 7. Physicality of the artefact:
 - Reflection on the physical properties of the artefact. (25)

- Reflection on the use of different senses in association with the artefact. (52)
- Enjoyed touching artefacts from the past. (13)
- 8. Other artefact thoughts:
 - Reflection on physical contact with artefacts. (45)
 - An expression of liking for an artefact. (20)
 - An expression of disliking an artefact. (27)
 - A feeling of disengagement from an artefact. (28)
 - Reflection on the difficulty of obtaining an artefact. (40)
 - An expression of feelings about an artefact. (30)
 - Reflection on the relationship between artefacts. (64)
 - Reflection on the reality portrayed by the artefact. (65)
 - Reflection that the artefact was powerful. (49)
 - Reflection on a lack of engagement to the artefact. (51)
 - Reflection on the nature of the artefact in relation to the present. (61)
 - Reflection on confused feelings about an artefact. (56)
 - A reflection on replicas. (23)
 - Enjoyed touching artefacts from the past. (13)
 - Participant did not feel the need for contact with artefacts. (70)
 - Ambivalence towards genuine artefacts. (71)
- 9. Engaging with the past:
 - A feeling of contact with the past. (14)
 - Participant put self in the place of a past figure. (42)
 - Participant connected with the past. (43)

- Participant was able to imagine the past. (16)
- Reflection on re-enactment. (72)
- 10. It is difficult to engage with past lives:
 - Reflection that you cannot place yourself in the past. (46)
 - Reflection of the difficulty of engaging with the feelings of past figures. (59)
 - Reflection that it is hard to empathise with past lives. (47)
- 11. Thinking about the activity:
 - Reflection that the activity was powerful. (48)
 - Reflection on being drawn into the activity. (50)
 - Indication of a strong preference for an activity. (26)
 - Reflection on the challenging nature of the activity. (58)
 - Engaging with a thinking or logic activity. (11)
 - Reflection on the use of photographs of artefacts for an activity. (55)
 - Comparison with a past activity which the participant did not enjoy. (69)
- 12. School:
 - Reflection on how an artefact might be used in teaching. (54)
 - Reflection on how the activity may be used in school. (57)
 - Enjoyed the activity and considering the possibility of carrying out the activity with children. (12)
 - The activity reminded the participant of activities they had done at school. (17)
 - There may be too many artefacts for one session. (66)

- Participant makes statement about the difficulty of doing an activity with children. (44)
- Reflection on what a child might think about an artefact. (63)
- Participant has seen it done whilst on experience at a school. (22)
- 13. Participant reflects on self
 - The artefact engaged the participant with own past. (21)
 - Participant engaged in thinking about self. (32)
- 14. Thoughts about knowledge and knowing:
 - Reflection about knowledge. (33)
 - Participant makes a judgement. (34)
 - Reflection on the differences between then and now. (36)

Figure 3.1 Key to the first codes

Figure 3.1 shows how the 72 first codes were aligned into 14 initial concepts. This coding of the data was then set aside and left for 4 weeks. This was to allow for a discrete second coding. It was hoped that the second coding would assist in highlighting the possible themes that may be obtained from the data. Therefore, the thematic second coding process was undertaken without reference to the first coding.

Note on the transcription process

The conventions used for reporting statements by participants are as follows. Participants are indicated by a number, which was first applied during the initial coding. Statements used as examples are generally given in a fuller version than is absolutely necessary as that may give the reader a better sense of the meaning that

has been applied. Examples are reported as they were spoken and punctuation has been carefully applied to help the reader make the best sense of what has been said. Hesitations are indicated by a dash (-) and hesitations at the end of a sentence by a dash and then a full stop (-.). Where a truncated section of a statement has been used this is indicated by three stops (...). Where bracketed words appear in the statements this is to indicate the presence of an inaudible or partially audible word – in some cases the likely word has been inserted in the brackets. Where it has been deemed necessary to report the question asked of the participant I identify myself as the ‘interviewer’. Each statement also begins with a bracketed participant no. i.e. (2):

3.2 The Second coding

The thematic second coding was focussed on capturing emergent themes. It was carried out four weeks after the first coding to allow the researcher to make a fresh re-consideration of the data. This second coding was discrete and carefully followed Braun and Clarke’s (2006) six-step thematic analysis. Again, the coding was carried out systematically and again three sweeps were made – these were reflexive and allowed for changes right up to the last sweep. This time it was interesting features of the data that were coded (rather than all incidents) and this meant that the emergent codes were cruder because alignments between the semantic meanings of statements were looked for. It was subsequently realised that this may help in signalling overarching themes. For example, one of the expected themes which arose during this phase was where participants indicated that they had somehow imagined a past existence. This became noted as, code h; the ‘Implication that participant has **imagined the past**’. In examining the data this code was applied where there was evidence that the student

was using imagination to envisage the past. This might be an indication that they had imagined a past figure or even imagined being a past figure. For example, in this code h reply participant no.1 is discussing visiting a historical location where she indicates she has imagined what it may be like to be living as a lady in the past.

(1) I wouldn't want to be one of the poor people I'd want to be like one of the rich ones with the fancy ball gown and the corset and hair done and everything.

In this code h reply participant no.3 discusses deploying her imagination in a different way. She is discussing the Neolithic axe (artefact 3, appendix I) where she indicates that she has considered imagining someone using it.

(3) I would possibly like to have seen pictures of how it was put together with a sort of handle or even a fictional account of someone using it – that would mean you could sort of visualise yourself watching someone you know.

In this code 'h' reply participant no.4 is discussing the mammoth vertebrae (artefact 4, appendix I) and indicating that she has imagined the feelings of the Neanderthal people who were thought to have hunted with it. In this case code 'p', the implication that the participant has shown feelings about the past, was also applicable.

(4) Because, I don't know, you take your frustration - it's like they took their frustration out on it - on a mammoth. They want to gang up on them.

In this code 'h' reply the decision was again difficult because the language was unclear. Here participant no.7 was discussing the experience of looking at the Victorian original photograph collection (artefact 5, appendix I). Here her indication that when she was handling the artefact she could almost imagine being present during the period was taken as evidence that she was attempting to imagine the past.

(7) It was the authenticity of knowing that was actually it, you don't know what's been changed (inaudible word) on a replica but you don't know like enhancements whereas you've got that original and you can see, you can almost envisage yourself there.

It was also noted from this coding that many of the participants indicated that they were aware of the past figure but had not attempted to imagine being there. Therefore, this was captured by code 'n' 'Implication that the participant has made a **connection** to the past'. Here the word connection implies that they have perceived a relationship with the past figure but have not attempted to imagine their presence. The relationship may be feelings of similarity or understanding of that past figure. For example, participant no.1 is discussing her discomfort at having a mobile phone whilst on a visit to an historic site. However, this is different from code h, (imagined the past) because, whilst she appears to have made a connection (she states she can feel what it is like to live in a different time and even indicates that she might have liked to live then) she does not clearly indicate that she is imagining the past.

(1) I don't know, just that it makes you feel like you're living in a different time. And then, like you kind of weird to get your phone out there – you feel like they didn't have phones and it kind of takes away from it if you just - like I would have liked to have lived back then when it wasn't like so technology based and I think I'm quite traditional and I like to look back.

It was often difficult to make decisions about this category. For example, in this code n statement participant no.9 is discussing the WWI session where the students examined a de-activated WWI Lee-Enfield rifle (artefact 6, appendix I). He is indicating that he has made a connection to the soldier's experience of receiving the rifle by

comparing it to his own experience of first riding a moped. Rhetorical questions such as *'It's knowing those things I suppose...'* were taken as indicating he was making a connection with the experience which constituted a code 'n' rather than an imagination of the past. However, in this case it was also thought he may be imagining the experience of the soldier (because he had thought about the act of receiving the rifle) and, therefore a code 'h' was also applied.

(9) How has a conscript been introduced to that? Is it a rite of passage? - is it an experience like getting your moped licence? - you know when you first get one of those given to you, was everybody given one, were the people who weren't very good given something that was good do you know what I mean? It's knowing those things I suppose...

Figure 3.2 shows the second codes that were obtained after three sweeps of the data. The second codes that emerged from this coding were as follows, (key words are in **bold**)

- a. Method of delivery or **activity**.
- b. Reference to use of **artefacts**.
- c. Reference to **story**.
- d. Reference to **family** or close acquaintance.
- e. **Photographs** (either use of or as artefact).
- f. Reference to a **visit**.
- g. Making a **comparison** with the present.
- h. Implication that participant has **imagined the past**.
- i. Reference to **film**.

- j. Reference to thoughts about the participant's **locality**.
- k. Reference to a participant's **own past**.
- l. Reference to an activity in **school**.
- m. Reference to the use of **replicas**.
- n. Implication that the participant has made a **connection** to the past.
- o. Participant implies thought about **knowledge**.
- p. Implication that the participant has shown **feelings about the past**.
- q. Reference to the use of **costume** as an artefact.
- r. Reference to the use of **poetry** as an artefact.
- s. Reference to the use of **senses**.

Figure 3.2 Key to the second coding

Figure 3.2 shows the 19 second codes which arose from the second data coding. The second codes were then set-aside and the first codes were revisited in to prepare to compare them with the second coding.

3.3 The first concepts were compared to the second codes to allow for the initial collation of themes

Stage three of Braun and Clarke (2006) is about the search for themes. This is where codes are collated into potential themes. It involves gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.

The following comparison between the first concepts and the second coding was made because the two codings had been discrete. It was felt that such a process may help in triangulating any themes that emerged from the data. To achieve this, the first concepts were carefully compared to the second set of codes. The 14 first concepts

were used because it was felt that there was a considerable numerical imbalance between the 72 first and 19 second codes. However, where there was doubt that a second code mapped against the first concept the first codes were viewed, thus for h, the ‘implication that the participant has imagined the past’ code 16, ‘Participant was able to imagine the past’ demonstrated sufficient evidence for the comparison to be made. Table 3.1 shows how the 14 initial concepts were generated from the first and second codings.

Initial concepts	Second coding (brackets indicate the link to the first codes)
1. Places 2. Family 3. Photographs 4. Story 5. Film 6. Real lives 7. Physicality of the artefact 8. Artefact thoughts 9. Engaging with the past 10. Difficulty engaging with the past 11. Thoughts about the activity. 12. School 13. Participant reflects upon themselves	a. Method of delivery or activity . (11, 8, 7,5) b. Reference to use of artefacts . (7,8,3) c. Reference to story . (4) d. Reference to family or close acquaintance. (2,1) e. Photographs (either use of or as artefact). (3) f. Reference to a visit . (1) g. Making a comparison with the present. (6) h. Implication that participant has imagined the past . (9) i. Reference to film . (5) j. Reference to thoughts about the participant’s locality . (1) k. Reference to a participant’s own past . (2,12) l. Reference to an activity in school . (11) m. Reference to the use of replicas . (8) n. Implication that the participant has made a connection to the past. (6,9) o. Participant implies thought about knowledge .(13) p. Implication that the participant has shown feelings about the past . (6,9,12)

14. Thoughts about knowledge and knowing	q. Reference to the use of costume as an artefact. (8) r. Reference to the use of poetry as an artefact.(8) s. Reference to the use of senses .(7,8)
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Table 3.1 The initial collation of themes

Table 3.1 has been constructed to show how the initial concepts identified from the first coding have been aligned with the second coding. Each column has been shown in the order that the concepts and codes arose from the data. The numbers in brackets have been appended to the second codes to demonstrate how they were matched to the first concepts during the initial collation of themes.

3.4 A recursive examination of the aligned codes allows for the generation of emerging themes

This stage of the analysis involves checking to see if the emerging themes work in relation to the coded extracts. This recursive and iterative collating process highlighted where emerging themes could be generated through aligning codes. For instance, it was noted that the following two initial codes may describe thoughts which arose as a result of the participant reflecting on their own background:

- 1. Places:
 - Reflection on museum visits. (37)
- 2. Family:
 - Reflection on stories about family or very close friends. (3)

Thus, the following two codes 'Reflection on museum visits (37)' and 'Reflection on places visited (2)' related to memories of previous family activity. For example; here participant No.3 is discussing childhood visits to a museum which had gained a code 37 during the first coding.

(3) Yes, yeah, I think umm in Glasgow growing up they had err Egyptian stuff in there. And I've seen some of the umm museum displays and things like that.

In this statement participant no.2 is discussing a school visit to a museum which also gained a code 37 during the first coding.

(2) I can remember a trip, having just been to Chester on Monday. I can remember we went to Chester when we were kids, we must have done the Roman experience because I didn't remember the museum. We were kids, we must have done (it) all – it wasn't familiar in any way. I think we went on the Roman experience. I definitely remember Roman coins and that's something that must have stood out to me on that trip and I think I'm still interested when I see coins and like I remember something with Roman coins so I think we must have done that.

Close examination of both of these code 37 statements revealed that they are about childhood memories and, therefore, may form part of a theme that constitutes students musing about their own background. In other words, the statements may both represent evidence that the participant is engaging in thinking about seemingly unrelated areas of their own background as a result of the activity. Therefore, during the creation of a theme with the working title; 'background connections' appeared to encompass background thoughts that arose during the activity. This review was carried out across the entire data set.

3.4.i Themes begin to emerge from the thematic review

Stage four of Braun and Clarke (2006) is about reviewing the emerging themes. This involves checking to see if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts and across the entire data set. This results in the generation of a thematic 'map' of the analysis. The comparison of the first concepts and the second coding had led, therefore, to the generation of initial themes. These themes were arrived at through an iterative and recursive re-examination of the original data. During this re-examination careful decisions were made about whether the emergent themes were a match for the data. This careful approach was particularly important as some short statements could demonstrate links to a variety of themes. As an example, no.9 (who is often hard to follow because he seems to pursue several lines of thought at the same time) is explaining his thoughts on film as a potential teaching aid in the statement given below. His line of thinking is not very clear but, at times, he appears to compare film to the photographs and the way they link to story. His last line also appeared to link the idea story and narrative. This type of statement appeared to be widely reflected in other interviews and thus it seemed to be linking to a potential overarching theme 'story.' However, other elements of his statement appeared to be linked to other emerging overarching themes. For instance; the use of the word '*them*' is also taken to indicate that he is thinking about school children and pedagogical activity. Since this again was something widely recognised across the 11 interviews it was labelled part of a potential theme, 'thinking about the historical activity.' However, he also seems to be imagining the historical figures themselves when he says, '*It could just be he thought that photo isn't very good of me – I'm much better looking than that.*' This

seemed, again to be similar to other statements across the 11 interviews and thus it was linked to another emerging code; 'link to a past figure'. Thus, this statement by no.9 demonstrates links to three different themes:

(9) *I think the umm in the same way as watching a Hollywood film where you're enabling your audience to use their imaginations to take the story on umm that's got power. But then again with Hollywood films if there's been a true story there's usually a bit at the end where you tell what's happened, so if it's a true story of local action there's usually a bit which contextualises who you've seen and what happens* (story) *and I think that was very similar in the same way you set up as er technique within. (Whereas) umm you've got this - umm you've got something which pulls them along and relates it through to - here's, here's potentially where it went and obviously* (thinking about the historical activity) *- but highly dramatic anyway given our universal debt anyway, but how they came to that end could well be. It could just be he thought that photo isn't very good of me - I'm much better looking than that* (links to past figures) *- it but it's the working with - It's taking you down a line of the story that er supports the narrative.* (story)

Matching codes to new themes.

Many decisions were also made about whether topics such as 'film', which had originally been given discrete codes, should be retained or would be better integrated into other themes. This required some very careful re-attributions. For example, the excerpt from no.5's interview outlined below had been originally coded as being related to film. However, during the recursive re-examination of the data it was noted

that it may be a match for entirely different overarching themes. This excerpt from the interview with no.5 clearly demonstrates that she is thinking about film in terms of its potential value as a pedagogical activity (she is discussing an 11 minute excerpt from the feature film 'Gladiator' which was used during the session on the Romans). Thus, it was re-attributed to the potential theme, 'Thinking about the historical activity.' However, it was also noted that her words '*you would feel part of it more – seeing that*' and '*so you can see what it was all like*' may indicate that she is commenting on the potential to imagine the past figure which may have been part of a different emergent theme, 'Links to the past figure.' However, as this meaning was not fully clear at this stage it was not applied to that theme:

(5) Umm, oh the film, I really liked that.

Interviewer: *Why?*

(5) Umm just because - I don't know I think like Gladiator - I think that gave a really, I don't know it just gave - you almost - if you were a child I think you would feel like - I don't know, you would feel part of it more – seeing that - like you can have the pictures and the clothes but that almost brings it all together so you can see what it was all like.

After careful re-examination of the data it was also noted that participant no.1 had mentioned that she liked watching film:

(1) I do quite like period dramas and stuff so I just watched 'Far From the Madding Crowd' and that's a good one and um I love like the 'Downton Abby' and stuff like that where it's -.

When questioned about why she had mentioned film no.1 gave the following reply:

(1) Just because it's like they show you like all the kind of architecture at the time and it's like the different accent as well that you can imagine like when people have this preconceived idea of what an English accent will be - that's what they show. I just really like that and all the costumes and stuff.

No.1's use of the word 'imagine', therefore, seemed clearly to be more about making links to the historical figures themselves and thus, this example of the original code 'film' was attributed to the potential overarching theme 'Links to past figures.'

This recursive re-examination led to many initial codes and concepts being re-applied to different themes. This led to a dramatic reduction in their number and the following five overarching themes appeared to arise from the data:

- Links to past figures.
- Story.
- Background connections.
- Thinking about the historical activity.
- The material culture artefact.

Generation of the thematic map

Below is a thematic map to demonstrate how each of these five overarching themes finally emerged from the data. Attributions of codes to themes were made on a case-by-case basis and considerable care was taken to ensure individual examples were not misapplied. Therefore, the map below is a general indication of the links between codes and themes rather than a rule for re-attribution. Table 3.2 illustrates the thematic map which led to the five overarching themes.

Emergent theme:	Code 2 example:	First concepts and second codes:
Thinking about the historical activity:	Method of delivery or activity . Reference to film . Reference to an activity in school .	(a,11, 8, 7,5) (i,5) (l,11)
Material culture artefacts:	Reference to use of artefacts . Photographs (as artefact). Reference to the use of replicas . Reference to the use of costume as an artefact. Reference to the use of poetry as an artefact.	(a,7,8,3) (e,3) (m,q,r,8)
Links to past figures:	Reference to a visit . Making a comparison with the present. Implication that participant has imagined the past . Reference to film . Implication that the participant has made a connection to the past. Implication that the participant has shown feelings about the past . Reference to the use of senses .	(f,1) (g,6) (h,9) (i,5) (n,6,9) (p,6,9,12) (s,7,8)

Background connections:	Reference to family or close acquaintance. Reference to a visit . Reference to thoughts about the participant's locality . Reference to a participant's own past . Participant implies thought about knowledge .	(d,2,1) (f,1) (j,1) (k,2,12) (o,13)
Story:	Reference to story .	(c.4)

Table 3.2 The generation of a thematic map.

Table 3.2. Shows a map of the second codes and the first concepts against the initial overarching themes. This represents the 'best fit' decisions as they were made and then applied to these themes.

3.4.ii Defining, refining and re-naming the themes

Stage five of Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis process involves defining and re-naming the emergent themes. It also involves ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme and define the overall story the analysis tells. Finally, it involves generating clear definitions and names for each theme.

Reducing the number of overarching themes to four.

It had originally seemed as if material culture artefacts themselves would form a clear theme. Thus, the theme 'Material culture artefacts' was constructed from statements

where participants articulated thoughts about the artefacts themselves. However, when this theme was reviewed it was found the attributions were often crude and did not seem to have fully captured the sentiment contained within the statements. Indeed, further close examination of the theme 'Material culture artefacts' revealed that there were few comments which were directly applicable to the artefacts themselves and that they mainly aligned with other themes. Thus, it was decided to re-apply the statements contained within 'Material culture artefacts' to themes which seemed more appropriate. Therefore, any comments about artefacts that were pedagogical in tone were applied as appropriately to the theme 'Thinking about the historical activity.' Any comments about artefacts that seemed to be a match for other themes were similarly reapplied. For instance, no.9's statement below which was about the Lee-Enfield rifle was re-attributed and the reasoning was as follows. His comparison of carrying a rifle and a baby may appear strange but in this case he seemed to be reflecting on his own experiences and applying them to that of the historical figure and, consequently, this comment was applied to the theme, 'Links to Past Figures:'

(9) ...I saw the pictures obviously people presenting rifles early on and knowing that they have to carry those things and keep them pristine, when you're presented with something that's like carrying a baby around and you've got to keep that clean...

Other statements which had been attributed to the theme 'Material culture artefacts' seemed to be related to the student's pedagogical reasoning. Therefore, after careful reflection those that appeared to constitute pedagogical reasoning were removed to the theme 'thinking about the historical activity.' For example, this statement by

participant no.1 which was about the Roman, Greek and Celtic coins (artefacts 7, appendix I) seemed to demonstrate a clear link between her thinking about the artefact and the pedagogical value of the activity:

(1) ...we've got coins and they haven't changed massively and you can still see a difference and if they've changed and what meaning like is behind them – like when we were looking around the coins that was something like 'oh I could definitely do that with the kids' but then –.

Very many other statements which were originally coded as being about artefacts seemed also to relate to their use as a teaching device. Here is participant no. 9 again and this time he appears to demonstrate he is applying his 'artefact' thoughts to how a child might react to the photographs of WWI soldiers:

(9) To understand whether I would have the same reaction as a child in that instance I'm not too sure because I still don't know as a child that I would be able to look at the picture that was first shown to me and really get any further - being able to understand those people were ok because when I look in stuff I'm always thinking as a teacher how would I take that in as a child...

Renaming the emergent theme 'Thinking about the historical activity' to 'Pedagogical reasoning,'

The re-attribution of some statements from 'Material culture artefacts' to 'Thinking about the historical activity' appeared to make the theme considerably more prevalent within the data. It seemed to be appropriate at this point to re-label this overarching theme Pedagogical reasoning. This label may be more accurate because it was felt that the title Pedagogical reasoning expressed the variety and breadth of thoughts that

were being articulated as a response to the activities, especially those that related to how the artefacts could be used within teaching. It had originally been thought that Pedagogical reasoning might be excluded from OHR because such reasoning would be expected of education students. However, these statements make it clear that in many cases the participant is engaging in such reasoning in the light of their thinking about the experience of the past figure and how much they might know of it. For example, no.3 is demonstrating that she would need more contextual knowledge to know more of the figure who wore it:

(1) I like the jacket but em um the jacket itself, how much is there to explore in it you know once you've seen and got it. It would have to be put into a bigger context you know what I mean, elaborate a story or something more umm you know if someone was wearing it or umm -.

There was also a second compelling reason to retain Pedagogical reasoning for further examination and this was because the notes and memos which were kept as part of the data examination were beginning to reinforce the view that it may form a significant component of the data which was possibly equal to the other themes. Thus, it was felt that further thought needed to be given as to whether pedagogical reasoning may form a natural component of OHR although it was not understood, at this stage, why that might be.

3.5 The story of refining and re-defining the four overarching themes:

With the creation of the theme 'Pedagogical reasoning' four overarching themes remained:

- Background connection.

- Story.
- Links to past figures.
- Pedagogical reasoning.

It was now felt that OHR may be best examined through a further close examination of these overarching themes. However, it was felt that the themes ‘Story’ and ‘Background connections’ should be examined first as they had been unexpected and were not fully understood. It was also not understood whether these could be applied to Model ‘A’ and the four categories of thought outlined in figure 1.1 at the conclusion of Chapter 1.

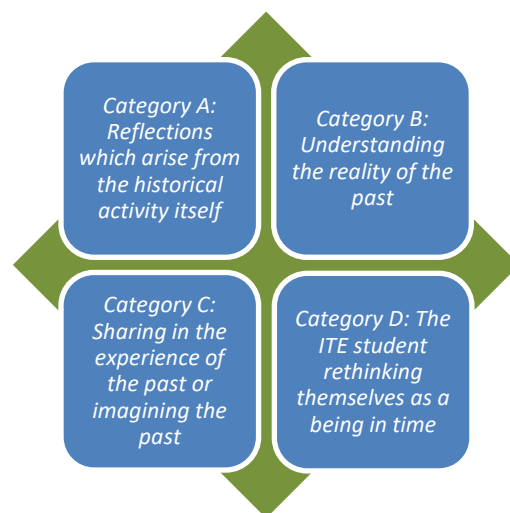


Figure 3.3 (from Chapter 1) Model ‘1’ p.102.

Figure 3.3. In model ‘1’ OHR was broken into four strands of thinking about past historical figures. These are: Category ‘A’ *Reflections which arise from the historical activity itself* which are related to the activity they have encountered. Category ‘B’ *Understanding the reality of the past*, which are thoughts related to the reality of past lives. Category ‘C’ *Sharing in the experience of the past or imagining the past* which are

attempts to make links with or imagine those past lives. Category 'D' Involves *the student rethinking themselves as a being in time.*

3.5.i The two unexpected themes

Unexpected themes were thought to be important because they may help in determining the full nature of OHR. For this reason, they have been explored first as it was not initially known whether they constituted a link to the initial categories of thought laid out in Model '1' Figure 1.1.

The two unexpected themes appeared to be:

- Background connections.
- Story.

For example, it was not fully understood why the participants appeared to be referring to their 'Background connections' by reference to their own family, locality or through childhood memories of visits to museums and historic sites etc. 'Story' was also deemed to be unexpected. This was because whilst many of the participants used the word 'story' it was not understood what the participants meant by using this word. Therefore, a closer examination of the unexpected themes would highlight any issues or alignments with the initial conception of OHR outlined in the short discussion of model 'A', Figure 1.1 above.

3.5.ii References to family appear to form part of the unexpected overarching theme, 'Background connections'

This theme had attempted to capture background thoughts of the participant as they engaged in thinking about past lives as a result of the instructional activities. These were background musings which seemed to emanate from the activity but were not directly linked to the activity. It was notable that this theme often seemed to capture thoughts that related to a participant's own family and most often their grandparents. For example, the following three statements are examples of those applied to the theme 'Background connections':

Participant no.1:

(1) ... like a lot of my childhood with my grandma just like telling stories it wasn't just like – 'there's a TV sit and watch it' - she would tell us random stuff and like she's got like, you know, the suitcase you brought in with all the stuff in like the axes and stuff like that, she's got one with tons of random of old photos and she'll just pull it out every now and again and tell us tons of stories about them.

Participant no.2:

(2) I like hearing about the history of my local area because my granddad used to work in Dalton's factory. He used to be a manager on one of the floors of Daltons. And I'm from Stoke so all of the area is very pottery. It is really interesting all about that sort of stuff and he's always got different stories to tell me about all of the ornaments in his house of which he has several...

Participant no.6:

(6) Yes, love it, like my Nan was erm - evacuated in the war and I heard the story hundreds and hundreds of times but I would always ask her to tell me because it was just something I was so interested in.

It was thought that these thoughts may fit into Category D because they may reflect the participant's attempts to think about themselves in relation to the historical figure. In Chapter 1 Category D was identified as: *The student rethinking themselves as a being in time: In this category the student may attempt to think about their own relationship to the historical figure or the time in which they lived.* Thoughts about family and grandparents may possibly reflect the student's attempts to think about themselves in relation to the historical figure but at this stage it was not understood why this should be so.

To determine whether the participant was indeed thinking about themselves in relation to the past figure the theme 'Background connections' was carefully investigated and unusual statements which may shed light on how the thinking had arisen were sought. For instance, in this statement participant no.11 who has already mentioned her paternal grandfather is asked if she had thought about other members of the family. In this reply she mentions her maternal grandfather and relates a thought about the tattoos on his arm to a question that had arisen in her mind as to whether any of the WWI soldiers they had been shown photographs of had something similar. Her statement '*And when them pictures came up and there's this sleeve*' seems to imply that her question about the tattoos arose directly as a result of her seeing the photograph of the WWI soldier:

(11) Umm, I thought briefly about my granddad on mum - so that's my granddad on my dad's side, I'm lucky, I've still got all my grandparents. So my

granddad on my mum's side, he was in the army and er he's got these tattoos all the way up his arm and he had them done - he was in Africa when he was a young lad and he hates them, he absolutely hates them, and they're like symbols and he won't tell anyone what they say or what they are, he just makes jokes. And when them pictures came up and there's this sleeve I was just thinking I wonder what they've got hidden up their arm or like but it literally was just a fleeting thought that I forgot until you asked me then, it was less, less prominent. I was just thinking, you know that we make these assumptions about the proper picture but you know...

Participant no.9's thoughts seem to shed even more light on why such thoughts may occur. His statement about his own background were slightly unusual in that they were not about his grandparents but seemed to constitute the same kind of thinking. His phrase '*so the connection I've got through to that time period*' seems to imply that he is thinking about how he may be connected to the period in question:

(9) I've, umm had strong bonds with somebody growing up who this would have been their time when they were living their life so the connection I've got through to that time period is not - it doesn't feel like history of no known people to who I am as a person because I'm probably a little down from that time period in terms of my life...

It was notable that 7 of the 11 interviewees made unprompted references to their grandparents but none made reference to their parents. All 11 interviewees, however, made some reference to elements of their own background. The words of nos. 11 and 9 seem to imply that they are attempting to make connections to the past through their own family or other significant people in their lives. Indeed, in his statement no.9

actually uses the word 'connect' twice. This may demonstrate why the students are referring to grandparents rather than parents. This could represent a connection to the oldest people they know. To, understand whether this formed a component of category D thinking about the student re-thinking themselves as a being in time. The literature was carefully re-examined and it was noted that Prekel, Kanske and Singer (2018) considered that culture required a conception of a relationship to both the past and future. This would require the student to reflect on who they are in relation to others through processes such as socio cognition. Memory was also described as a vital mechanism in providing a conception of who we are as human beings in relation to history, culture and identity and Black (2014:7) reminded us that identities are imagined and constructed rather than inherent. We may also remodel ourselves as a being in history through mechanisms related to what was termed autobiographical and semantic memory (Manning, Denkova and Unterberger, 2013; Tani, Peterson and Smorti, 2014:254-55; Graci and Fivush, 2017:489). This represents the way we construct autobiographical memory stories to shape our understanding of events. Baron and Bluck (2009) explain that autobiographical memory stories may play a role in self-definition. Through the reading it was felt that this constituted evidence that the students may be re-thinking their own personal identities. Therefore, it was concluded that thoughts about family and grandparents may indeed form part of Category D.

3.5.iii The logic for re-naming the theme name 'Background connections' as Sense of self

Stage five of Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis discusses the need for refining and re-defining the themes. It was felt that the theme name 'Background connections' which had arisen from the students' discussions of their grandparents was a clumsy name. Whilst it expressed the type of background thinking that may form a significant component of this category, it did not encompass the student's sense of self in relation to time, memory and culture, which may also form components of this category. Therefore, the theme was renamed Sense of self.

3.5.iv The unexpected overarching theme, 'Story'

Story also seemed to capture another of the unexpected overarching themes that emerged strongly through the initial coding processes. Below I have outlined the original codes which related to the word story.

1. Narrative:

1. Reference to **story**. (c)
2. Story:
 - An expression of the desire for story. (29)
 - Reflection on hearing stories from the past. (5)
 - Reflection on story. (39)
 - Reflection on hearing a real story from the past. (7)
 - Reflection that the story can be powerful. (65)
 - Reflection on teaching and story. (67)

'It tells a story'

The phrase 'it tells a story' first came to the attention of the researcher after all the interviews had been transcribed and during the analysis of the response of participant No. 4. She was discussing the small battlefield artefacts taken from the Somme and the battlefield at Ypres. When the interviewer pressed her as to why she found the remains of a hand-grenade (artefact 8, appendix I) to be so interesting she came up with the following explanation.

(4) Yes, I think it does tell a lot of stories.

It will be useful, therefore, to explore the statement, *'it does tell a lot of stories'* because this may relate to the way the participant is relating to the reality of the past as portrayed by the material culture artefacts. If the use of the word 'story' is articulated as a thought about the reality of the past then it may be connected to Category B as it was defined in Chapter 1: *Understanding the reality of the past: In this category the reality of past lives becomes fully apparent to the student. They may reflect on or even draw inferences about what the material culture can tell them about past lives. They may make judgements or logical inferences about the past lives that they have encountered.*

However, at this stage in the analysis the full meaning of the word 'story' was not understood. This initiated a further review of the data which noted that 10 of the 11 participants had used the word story in an historical context. For example, participant no.2 made several un-prompted references to the word 'story'. In this statement she is discussing how the Victorian photographs prompted her to connect with the people in them.

(2)...there were so many photos and they had got so many different stories and there were so many different interpretations you could have of them um the jacket was cool but I feel I could connect a bit more with seeing people, maybe seeing people's faces, people's expressions rather than a jacket with no person inside although you can imagine that story, having the pictures present and um seeing the faces it perhaps what I connect with a bit more.

There were many further similar examples. This is a reply by No.3 who is also discussing the Victorian photographs.

(3) I thought I could learn a bit more from that whereas photographs often tell their own story and there were so many of them.

Participant no.4 also appeared to have said something similar when she was discussing the Neolithic axe rough-out (artefact 9, appendix I). She appears to mean that the rough out is unfinished and, therefore, links to both the story of its manufacture and the reason it was rejected:

(4) I think it's more plain whereas I think this one it's got more of a story behind it and I'm more interested in it because you can sort of guess what that is.

As had participant no.8, he is discussing WWI

(8) I think it's erm, stories are more powerful when you've got a lot of detail about the people involved in them and part of when you're talking about the different senses the soldiers might have experienced.

And participant no.9 who is also discussing WWI

(9) The artefact doesn't tell the story itself, no it's the how it's used and introduced and the narratives as well...

The review of the data also noted the following unusual response to an interviewer question where the word story had already been used. This response is by participant no.6 who eventually refers to the footman's jacket.

Interviewer: (following up her previous statement) *What does the artefact do to the story then?*

(6) I think it validates it – I think so you can like -.

Interviewer: *Even if the artefact (is) a bit -.*

(6) Yes, you can stand up in front of a class of children and tell them, for example the story of the footman, the jacket could be in tatters but if you've still got something to show that connection's made and I think it can - 'cos you can tell children, the story could be anything but as soon as you put something physical there and say this was the coin that they used, this was the jacket that they wore that then really puts it into context for children especially and I think it just makes it more meaningful it's something they're more likely to remember than just being read a story I think.

Her words '*I think it validates it*' seemed to constitute evidence that there is a connection between the artefact and the word 'story.' Her thinking that the artefact '*validates*' the story may also imply that the artefact offers evidence that the historical story is true or real. Her words '*as soon as you put something physical there and say this was the coin that they used, this was the jacket that they wore that then really puts it into context for children especially and I think it just makes it more meaningful*' imply that thinking about the reality of past lives could be initiated through contact with material culture artefacts. In other words, the artefact may be allowing the student to understand that the past was real. Further validation of this may arise from

participant thoughts about authenticity. In other words, genuine artefacts may confirm the reality of the story. For instance; real = rusty = not replica or not re-enactment but real. Here, for instance participant no.8 is discussing the reality of the WWI artefacts (artefacts 10, appendix I) and their relation to reality:

(8) I find that I like seeing artefacts like that, physical things – I always like to imagine that was, not necessarily a replica but that was something that was actually used, that was from that time, you can imagine, you know, you can imagine the time they actually did explode or not being able to get there beforehand, it's the same with other things as well erm, you mentioned before going to museums and seeing replicas and things – I don't find that as engaging because I like to be able to look at things and then imagine that was used by somebody, you know, a hundred years ago, however long ago it was, that I find more interesting than things that are er replicas or that aren't as old. Seeing the shrapnel, seeing it rusted, seeing it old and knowing where it's from, I found gained my attention more I think.

No.10 is also discussing the WWI battlefield artefacts and seems to imply that decay and imperfection confers a greater sense of their validity. He employs an interesting metaphor when he equates their physical weight to their cultural weight.

(10) I think if, to kind of locate myself I kind of get a sense of they're old - you do because you get a sense of decay and you get a sense of the oxidation, you get a sense that they've lived in the ground, they've lived in the mud even if you can't necessarily articulate it um that necessarily kind of the language but you get a sense of, not only the kind of physical weight but the cultural weight I think that it carries.

No.7 tried to explain why she preferred the original Victorian photographs to a re-print of a work by the Victorian photographer Frank Meadow-Sutcliffe. She implies that the original enables her to *'almost envisage yourself there.'*:

(7) It was the authenticity of knowing that was actually it, you don't know what's been changed (missing word) on a replica but you don't know like enhancements whereas you've got that original and you can see, you can almost envisage yourself there – I love that.

No.8 is reflecting on a replica trench coat. He seems to imply that the replica (the trench coat) has no story unlike the real artefacts:

(8)... for me and it may be just me, but the costume drama re-enactment style artefacts don't have the same weight as something that comes with a story.

No.5 explains that she likes history because it is about real people rather than the scenarios the group have been presented with during other university sessions:

(5) So, when we're at uni and we're having to do reflections and it's all a made-up child - and I understand why we're doing that. I like going into something where it's like these are facts - we're learning about facts.

The phrase *'we're learning about facts'* seems to suggest that no.5 is thinking about past figures as being real. The statements of 7 and 8 may demonstrate that the reality of the past can become apparent through artefacts. Collectively the statements may also show that the participant is attempting to make connections between what is learned and the reality portrayed by the artefact. In other words, the connection to the reality of the past may be related to the idea of narrative which the participants appear to be describing as the story the artefact tells. Therefore, the use of the word

story seems to imply that the participant is thinking about the reality of the past and thus is a match for Category B thinking; *Understanding the reality of past lives*.

3.5.v The logic of re-naming the overarching theme Understanding of reality instead of 'Story'

It was felt that a better description of the theme 'Story' would be Understanding of reality. This was because it was becoming apparent that the word 'story' may denote that the participant was coming to terms with the reality of the past through understanding something of the narrative context of that reality. It was noted that the original conception of Category B thinking: *Understanding the reality of the past*. In this category the reality of past lives becomes fully apparent to the student. They may reflect on or even draw inferences what the material culture can tell them about past lives. They may make judgements or logical inferences about the past lives that they have encountered.

It seems as if we may ask whether the participant is making a logical connection between the existence of the artefact and the person who used it that adds to their understanding of the past. It may be that this logical connection involves what may be deduced from the artefact. It may also be that the logic reflects the status of the participant's own background knowledge and knowledge gained during the teaching. As an example, the statement below seems to suggest that participant no.2 has an emerging sense of the reality of the past which has arisen through the Victorian photographs. She demonstrates this logic by reflecting on the status of her own knowledge in that she understands she cannot really know about those lives. However, she does imply that she might think about what they are wearing and what she can

glean about their feelings through looking at the photograph (although she does not explain how she will do this):

(2) Laughs, I liked the photos, the photos were good because, the actual real photos unlike the older photos were probably more interesting to me because I was always thinking this was actually taken then. Erm, I do like replicas but the actual real thing I go like this is old, this is and you kind of look into the story but obviously you don't necessarily know the story or the characters that are in there but you can try and connect by what they are wearing and what like, they might be feeling.

Similarly, no.3 has seen the 'craftsmanship on the axe' and this had led her to apply what appear to be simple insights, into her thinking about the reality of the Neolithic period:

(3) Yeah. I Like the craftsmanship on the axe actually it means that you can you know history for me.

It may be, therefore, that the students are beginning to apply thinking that relates to their emerging understanding of the reality of past lives through seeing the artefact as real. However, in seeing the artefact as real they may also deploy insights that reflect the 'story' or narrative that they can see emerging from the artefact. The emergent 'story' may be linked to the participant's own knowledge and that gleaned from the taught session. This is demonstrated here by no.2:

(2) People kind of look back to their history so you're talking through aspects and factors that could be actually what happened so although you don't necessarily know it's interesting to discuss it because you think that might ha' happened and that might ha' happened and then you think well and then if

you've got the story then it's even better because then you think well this is what happened.

It may also be that the authenticity of the material culture artefacts may help in promoting logical and sometimes quite powerful insights about the 'story' which can be applied to the original user of the artefact. In this reply no.9 is discussing his thoughts about a used bullet from the Somme (artefacts 11, appendix I).

(9)...you can imagine that it hit someone – that it hit something, if it hit someone (this is) how's it emerged, so you're starting to - it encourages a greater relationship between the person who's observing it and the thing itself

This appeared to imply that Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR) may be partly composed of thoughts arising from the material culture artefacts that link the reality of the past to understanding the reality of historical figures themselves. In other words, somebody was once alive who had worn the jacket or dress or may have been killed by the bullet. We may recall from Chapter 1 that Koopman (2015) and Busch (2011) demonstrated that the past was manifested by evidence and Cronis (2015:187-188) explained that artefacts can evoke the past whilst Bucciantini (2009:4-6) observed that artefacts can confer authenticity on those stories. This theme which originally appeared to be 'unexpected' was, upon further examination, noted as a partial match for Category B *Understanding the reality of the past*. (In this category the reality of past lives becomes fully apparent to the student. They may reflect on or even draw inferences what the material culture can tell them about past lives. They may make judgements or logical inferences about the past lives that they have encountered.

3.5.vi Examining the dimensions of overarching theme; 'Links to past figures'

The theme, 'Links to past figures' highlighted expected links which the participant was making with the past and past lives. As such this could constitute the component of OHR which may encompass the dispositions of psychological empathy (Ψ_e) and Historical Empathy (HE). It was therefore, thought that it may form part of *Category C: Sharing in the experience of the past or imagining the past*. (In this category the student may deploy affective HE or Ψ_e in demonstrating that they care for or about the past life. They may attempt to imagine being in the past or to 'see' the past figure in action. They may also attempt to draw inferences about the emotive or cognitive state of the past figure.

We might recall from Chapter 1 that a number of writers discussed time-memory which could be achieved through mental time-travel; which is a way transcending the present to occupy a different time place or reality (Manning, Cassel and Cassel, 2013:234; Wheeler et al. 1997:331-335; Waytz, Hershfield and Tamir, 2015:336). Szpunar (2011:409) and Wheeler, Stuss and Tulving (1997) also drew our attention to chronesthesia (the awareness of the subjective time in which one's self exists) and auto-noetic consciousness (where an individual is aware of their protracted existence over subjective time). Auto-noetic consciousness is the 'stream of consciousness', which allows one's fluid movement from the past through to the future and back again.

For example: Participant no.11 is discussing seeing the poet G.A. Studdert-Kennedy whose poem 'What's the Good?' was read from an original WWI copy of his book, '*Rough Rhymes of a Padre*' during a lecture (artefact 12, appendix I). Her thoughts seem to constitute an example of mental time-travel.

(11) To me in my head I had this man sat there like with his mates around him, he had like a cigarette in his mouth, cap was off and he was just writing and I think I can't see where he was sat I can't see but I can see like, this, this man writing it and that was him he was there and he saw these things - that is a factual piece of - not like numbers or figures but someone's thought, someone's vision because you know.

These linked thoughts, however, may also represent a cognitive, imaginative or affective engagement with the past historical life and as such may also represent another important component of OHR.

'Links to past Figures' that appear to demonstrate the student is attempting to connect to the experience of the past figure.

'Links to past figures' may occur as connected thoughts about past lives which are often prompted by the artefacts. In this statement participant no.7 is making a cognitive link to past lives through reflecting on the Victorian sugar nippers (artefact 13, appendix I) in relation to her own subjective experiences.

(7) Yes – we're so lucky that we have (what) we can pick up like a sugar cube or something and don't have to cut it and (go to) all that effort just for sugar.

Whereas we just go to the shop and buy just like a pack and we're sorted.

Participant No.3 is discussing the Neolithic axe and her statement about '*the time and the effort*' is also giving a cognitive sense of connection to the experience of the person who constructed it.

(3) I think it's got lovely balance umm it's got a nice shape. Sort of when you look at it you question why does it come around more on one side than the

other? It's sort of - it makes you consider where how it was made and the time and the effort that went into it and then what they would have used it for....

No.4 is discussing the WWI hand grenade where she demonstrates some cognitive insight into the experience of the person who had to throw it:

(4) I think it's quite sad.

Interviewer: *Yes. So, who do you feel sad for?*

(4) The soldier throwing it.

Interviewer: *The soldier throwing it?*

(4) Because he has to be the one throwing it and he's responsible for all them deaths. I feel sorry for him. I know some people have died or been injured but he'd have that guilt and the responsibility and that with him until he died.

Interviewer: *So, it would stay with him?*

(4) Yes, when you're a soldier it always stays with yer what you've seen and what you've heard and stuff.

Affective connections to past lives within the theme 'Links to past figures'

Some other participants clearly demonstrated that they had been affected by the situation of historical figures revealed by the artefacts. This is no. 6 discussing the photographs of WWII German soldiers. She conveys that she has been moved by what she has seen:

(6) I think that for me personally the photo that you put up on the board knowing sort of what had just happened and the history of the photograph, why it was taken really, like I remember saying, I just got chilled just knowing

what they had just done or what they were about to go and do you know what's to come and that could be someone's granddad or dad or -

Interviewer: *The German soldiers?*

(6) Yes, and just knowing that really they just look like, if somebody saw a picture ok that's so and so's granddad and that's their dad and their uncle and you wouldn't think anything of it and then knowing what they've done or what they're about to do, it's just, just a bit scary.

The interviewer then asked her about the impact the photograph had upon her.

(6) Looking at it and holding it and saying these are just real people and this, this, like I said if you had just given us that photo with no context of like it's the vilest picture ever I'd have looked at it and thought that's just like somebody's family and just walking and they're taking a nice picture and they're all soldiers and you know several are quite cheery so I wouldn't have thought anything of it but then knowing, holding it in your hand it is sort of a piece of history and knowing what they, these people on this picture in your hand did. I just think it makes a really strong connection.

Others such as no.9 had clearly attempted to identify with the historical figures through their contact with the artefacts. His words about the rifle being a 'best friend' conveys the idea that he is using his own intuition to gain insights into the life of a WWI soldier:

(9) The rifle it's, it's not of interest that it was very good at shooting people it's what did it mean if that's your best friend in a trench for ages...

Many of the replies that fell into this category may constitute components of both Ψ e and HE. For instance, in Chapter 1 we noted work by Christov-Moore et al. (2014:604)

which showed that Ψ_e promoted pro-social and cooperative behaviour through forming the ability to predict and think about the behaviour of others. Sensitivity to another's distress is also a component of this disposition (Sanders et al. 2013). (Christov-Moore et al., 2014:604; Singer et al. 2008:782 and Singer et al. 2013) had also showed that affective mechanisms which underlie the sharing and mimicry of others states and behaviours. Marsh (2018:110-115) also demonstrated that such activity could occur from written accounts which would promote mentalizing or thinking about the condition of another person. Similarly, HE may be achieved through making both cognitive (thinking) and affective (feeling) links to past lives. For example, writers such as Endacott and Brooks (2013:41-46) and Davis (2001:3) explain it is a process of cognitive and affective engagement with historical figures to understand their experiences, actions and decisions. Endacott and Pelekanos (2015:2) also explain that HE allows for the humanizing of historical figures.

3.5.vii A justification for re-naming the overarching theme 'Links to past figures' as Perception of the historical figure.

Perception of the historical figure was chosen as the final name for this theme because the word 'perception' was felt to more fully represent the nature of the student's thoughts than the word 'link.' The word 'link' implies some kind of connection whereas the word 'perception' implies that, in some sense, they are seeing the historical figure. For example, the student may perceive the emotions or the presence of a past figure. The word 'perception' may also encompass the imaginative grasp of a past presence more effectively than the word 'link.'

3.5.viii The emergent themes of interest were re-tested against the data.

In order to follow stage six of Braun and Clarke's (2006) six step thematic analysis, 'producing the report', I re-tested the data against the overarching themes to ensure they were a good match and to establish their prevalence. Stage six also involves the selection of vivid, compelling extracts and the final analysis of selected extracts. These extracts should relate back to the research question and literature and enable the production of a scholarly report of the analysis.

The data was then given a thematic re-coding to confirm whether of each of the overarching themes existed widely across the data. This established that each of the four themes formed a component of all 11 interviews.

- Perception of the historical figure was widely present in all 11 interviews except for that of no. 5 where it appeared to be very limited.
- Sense of self was present in all 11 interviews although its presence was the most variable of all the overarching themes. This established that whilst it was a highly significant component of no.s 2,7,9,10 & 11 it was less prevalent in that of no.s 3, 5 and 8.
- Understanding reality was widely present in all 11 interviews.
- Pedagogical reasoning was widely present in all 11 interviews.

This thematic re-coding was carried out to establish whether OHR consisted primarily of these overarching themes.

3.6 Conclusion

Chapter 3 explains the process of coding and recoding the data. The first stage used grounded coding based upon Holton (2007,2010) and attempted to allow both

expected and unexpected themes to emerge from the data. The second stage was a Thematic Analysis based on Braun and Clarke's six stage process (2006). This resulted, finally, in four overarching themes. These overarching themes were, in order of occurrence: Perception of the historical figure, Sense of self, Understanding reality and Pedagogical reasoning. Despite some unexpected thinking the data seemed to show a general alignment with the initial model '1' version of OHR (which had been based on my reading in Chapter 1) and was shown in figure 2.1. During the coding process, however, it seemed possible that there might be tentative connections between these themes. Chapter 3, therefore, has shown the overarching themes which are likely to form OHR. It is, consequently, hoped that on-going analysis during Chapter 4 may allow for further clarification in refining and developing the model of Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR). Chapter 4 will, therefore, explore this possibility further, discussing ways in which the findings of the data analysis reflect the analysis of the Literature Review in Chapter 1.

Chapter 4

Analysis of research data to relate key themes to literature review

Introduction

Four convenience categories of thinking that may represent OHR were identified from my initial reading. These appeared to broadly align with the four overarching themes identified in the data analysis in chapter 3. Thus, category A (Reflections which arise from the historical activity itself) was seen as being related to the theme Pedagogical reasoning. Category B (thoughts relating to the reality of past lives) was seen as related to the theme Reality. Category C (attempts to connect with, or imagine past lives) was seen as similar to the theme, Perception of the historical figure. Category D (students rethinking themselves in time) was seen as being related to the theme, Sense of self. However, whilst these categories appear to allow for an exploration of the breadth of thinking that may constitute OHR they do not explain the ways in which students thought about these categories and themes. Therefore, a further analysis was required to more fully explain the nature of Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR). Finally, this analysis provides clues which suggest how the categories relate to each other.

4.1 Discussion and analysis of Category A, (Reflections which arise from the historical activity itself) and the theme Pedagogical reasoning

It may be almost inevitable that a student, (especially a student of education), gives thought to an activity they have encountered. Thus, whilst discussions of the pedagogy were largely unprompted (because it was not a central focus of this study) references

to it were very common and it was discussed at some length by all 11 participants. The theme Pedagogical reasoning may be split into two components.

Component 1 of the theme Pedagogical reasoning

This is about whether the activity had value to participants, through perhaps reflecting on how it may be used in their own practice. Some comments reflecting this component were uncomplicated and alluded to simplistic ideas about how the taught sessions related to their thinking about the past. For instance, here is no.11 relating her confusion as to what a battlefield may look like and when she uses the words 'get it' she appears to be thinking about the retrieval of archaeological material from the Somme and Ypres.

(11) But, we, we I haven't seen a battlefield so it's erm, I can't picture it, I just see like a football field which is stupid but they're the fields that I know so I couldn't picture how you could just - get it.

Some comments were more sophisticated and related the taught session to the development of students' own pedagogical understanding as trainee teachers. Here is no.10 discussing how the session influenced his plans for teaching WWI.

(10) (sigh) Umm I think really I was just kind of linking to my own pedagogy and also linking to the other things that I do - you know it's coming up to November and I will be part of a - will be part of a Remembrance Service Parade - I will be discussing with my group of kids why we are doing this and it kind of locates it further - I mean it's hard to explain to children - especially you know they feel that they should be doing these things because there's a cultural expectation that they should be doing these parades and we will er, you know, discuss the

significance of the poppy but to actually to have things there, you know it kind of brings it home or brings it to a location in their own thought processes, that can process these things.

No.3 was thinking about the taught content in relation to context. Like many of the subjects in this study she demonstrates an awareness of context that she cannot fully articulate in the way which would be required if she was engaging in formal HE. In these terms she explains why she wanted to explore more of the footman's story (artefact 14, appendix I) than was discussed in the sessions:

(3) I like the jacket but em um the jacket itself, how much is there to explore in it you know once you've seen and got it. It would have to be put into a bigger context you know what I mean, elaborate a story or something more.

No.6 gives a broad reflection on the lecture series and elaborates her thoughts on how what she has experienced may be transferred to children.

(6) I've liked seeing from a teacher's point of view how what we've done can work with children and how that matches to the curriculum that we have to teach but also the fact that obviously we're not children and we're not treated as such but the activities we've done worked for us as well, they're quite interchangeable for groups of people and I like that it's very hands on.

These comments were a good match for the kinds of discussions that may have been expected from education students in that they display evidence of thinking in relation to practice and their own adequacy as an historian.

Component two of the theme Pedagogical reasoning

This component of Pedagogical reasoning was different because here the reasoning applied by the participant appeared to be more complex. It was about their how own pedagogical understanding intertwined with their subject knowledge. The participants demonstrated that they may be conscious that becoming engaged with thinking about past lives is linked to their contextual understanding of the relevant historical period. For instance, many of the participants had thoughts about how they became engaged with the past lives they encountered. No.9 reverted to discussing the activity several times during his interview. It was very much as if he had a belief that pedagogical reasoning was the subject of the interview. He was particularly taken with the moment when he became engaged with thinking about the past lives he had encountered. The painting he refers to is by Richard Jack and is of soldiers at Victoria Railway Station awaiting their return to the Front in late 1916 (It is on permanent display at York Art Gallery.) His reply, as is usual for him, is often hard to follow but he seems to be trying to relate how he was 'hooked' into thinking about the past lives he encountered:

(9) Because the initial erm painting was probably the thing that I would connect least with - which just because of a stylistic perspective it's not an art sort of type that I would ever think of before so I would see it as a - umm the initial stimulus for me probably wasn't as much something that I would really heavily engage onto and latch onto. So obviously getting that initially and then understanding it - what then started to create more of a hook was when it was the time period through to - and then that contextualisation of that against erm (the) pictures so it was a - it was bringing me into something from probably

somewhere where, initially, I wasn't initially as engaged (to) as if I'd straight away thought that was the most interesting thing of all.

The words of no.9 about a 'hook' appear to tell us that at some point he was 'turned on' to the topic. This initial 'stimulus' as he calls it, was achieved through looking at the photographs (he calls them 'pictures') of the WWI soldiers. No.9 explained more of this process of engagement later in the interview. The first block of italicised text is the latter part of a somewhat lengthy reply. Here he uses the word 'impactful' to describe the effect the photographs had upon him. He also appears to tie this with the contextual knowledge he received about the soldiers in the photographs.

(9) ...I think it's a shame we don't know, you know. I thought it was very interesting when you were - within a couple of minutes you could contextualise the Battle of the Somme and umm which I can't - which is probably not a good thing to say is it as it's kind of important within our heritage. But, so, so it, it, so it - the interesting thing for me was how, there wasn't a - I thought the umm I thought the photos were a lot more impactful especially 'cos they reveal, the technical- reveal afterwards of where they were at that point in time and what it would mean afterwards, that could have been enough for me - I got a great deal from the last bit.

Interviewer: *Tell me about the reveal.*

(9) To, to try and imagine who people were - and to notice detail and to start to try and relate through to them through how they presented themselves and the posture and the context of the photos and how they would be taken. And then to understand those photos maybe wouldn't have been collected and, also

they were taken a short period of time before they were to take part in something that probably was life defining or ending. Erm so that, that reveal left a gradual invitation to engage with who they were as people at that point in time that was powerful for me as learning within that subject umm.

No.9 appears to be making the point that for him the greatest impact came through the moment when he was able to relate the WWI photographs he had been studying to their context, which was the Battle of the Somme (where these particular soldiers were likely to have died). No.9 also uses the word ‘*contextualization*’ several times. In using this word he seems to be expressing that his own engagement was connected to understanding the context of those lives.

Thinking about past lives has often been investigated from an academic stance. This is a concern also noted by Cunningham (2007:595) who observes that teaching content is often considered not just in terms of factual knowledge but also what she terms the structures, processes and principles of the discipline of history. She says that in doing this teachers often appear to be making the assumption that a student’s experience of history would be more engaging if it mirrored what historians do. She also refers (p.596) to the work of Gunning (1978) that school history need not be the same as academic history. The type of approach she refers to has been taken by other writers (Rantala, Manninen and van den Berg, 2016; Davis, 2001; Lee and Ashby, 2001; Shemilt, 1980; Lee and Shemilt 2011; Colby, 2010; Pelligrino, Lee and D’Erizan’s 2012; Seixas and Peck,2004:113, Sánchez-Augustí and Miguel-Revilla; 2017; Perotta and Bohan, 2018). This study investigates students’ natural thinking about past lives, rather than their understanding of history as a discipline. Therefore, in re-examining the data located within the theme ‘Pedagogical reasoning’, it was interesting to find that

participants were, nevertheless, thinking in a genuinely historical way. The following extracts demonstrate that they were aware of the importance of context, the nature of evidence, ways in which the past was different from the present and of the process of historical enquiry. It was felt to be particularly important that the participants were able to express their contextual engagement through using language that they chose for themselves. This, therefore, may allow for a broader understanding of how historical knowledge functions within OHR than was the case in the studies cited above.

Like most of the students in the sample, no.9 is using what, at best may be described as a restricted historical vocabulary. It has become apparent through my teaching that many non-specialist students have restricted (academic) historical vocabularies and that these can constitute a barrier to their thinking about and engaging with past historical lives. However, avoiding an overtly historical vocabulary can also lead to underestimating their historical thinking and can affect how we as educators perceive a student's understanding of the past. This is similar to thinking outlined by Cooper (1991:347-348) who made the point that the thinking of children is often sophisticated if you listen carefully to what they say and understand their ability to express this may be constrained by a limited vocabulary. Nagy and Townsend (2012:91-94) have shown that acquiring sufficient comfort to have 'ownership' of an 'academic' vocabulary is difficult as the terms used are often (amongst other things) morphologically complex, contain grammatical metaphor, have high informational density and are often based on Latin and Greek rather than Germanic vocabulary. Many of the replies used in this section may cause the reader to think that the participant lacks historical knowledge and understanding because their vocabulary is apparently restricted. However, many

of their replies actually relate to complex activity that has encouraged them to gain deep insights into life in the past. For example, no.6, like no.9, demonstrates awareness that the artefact is evidence which provides a contextual link between the people and their past. The activity with the footman's jacket was challenging in that the students were asked to identify and date the crest on the buttons, which demonstrated that the jacket belonged to a servant of the 16th Earl of Derby and was manufactured around 1868 (artefact 14, appendix 1). This involved translating a crest which was written in both Latin and French. Through the identification the student then went on to gain an understanding of the life of a footman. Her words that '*but until you know about how it was made and why it was worn and things like that*' seem to express that she now feels she has a knowledge about the footman:

(6) It put things in context like because you can go to a museum and see it but until you know about how it was made and why it was worn and things like that and like. With the jacket of the footman like - knowing exactly who that's come from again it's knowing about people - this is what he wore, this is his life and this is what he was about and I think that really engages people as well.

This second statement was given later in no.6's interview when she made an unprompted return to the topic of the jacket. Here she again expresses that she feels she has good knowledge of the footman and makes a specific link to the decoding activity as being engaging. In discussing this it is also evident that she is considering how she may transfer ideas about the reality of the past to children. Finally, her reflection on difference may also demonstrate that she is conscious that the past was different:

(6) And then obviously the footman's jacket, like I said, knowing exactly who that was and where he came from what he did and knowing about his life, that I think has a... knowing that was the real er actual jacket that he wore when he was doing these different things and think children as well would really get on board with something like that knowing that isn't something I just made to look like - this is the actual jacket that he would have worn I think that does really - that gets people engaged and has an impact I think.

In the statement below No.7 is also discussing the footman's jacket and also seems to imply that she has gained what she terms '*so much information*' from the activity. She is also remembering that the activity on which their session was based was reported as being originally carried out by children. The enquiry activity with the mobile phones that she refers to was also highly complex as it involved research that resulted in the students acting as museum curators. Here she is also intimating that she is thinking about how this could lead to teaching in school. Finally, she may also be demonstrating a consciousness that the past was different when she talks about events being *forgotten*:

(7) The soldier's jacket and how the children identified who it belonged to by looking at the buttons and I really enjoyed that. Something as simple as a button could lead to so much information, so it's all about enquiry skills. I really enjoyed the mobile phone thing we did as well because that was using something as simple as mobile phones it all brought us back to 'oh but I remember that' and then the news and researching the news it just - so many significant things had happened that maybe we'd forgotten so being able to

put it in a time-line it was relevant to us which made it really good, I enjoyed that.

It seemed to be important to study the true extent of thinking about past historical lives that may constitute OHR and not to restrict the ideas expressed by participants through using a specialist historical vocabulary. Indeed, Hoodless (2002:174) argues that history is mainly taught through language. Thus, we may see specialist historical vocabulary as being a type of 'cultural capital' (knowledge, experience and connections) which was theorized by Bourdieu Wacquant (1989) and Jenkins (1992). Bernstein (2001; 1981) also has similar ideas about 'Elaborated Code' – how access to a language and vocabulary that is valued among certain groups is restricting to those who have not been exposed to it. Participant No.3 also demonstrated that she was trying to apply her thinking to understand the reality of past life in relation to the Neolithic axe. Her ideas are expressed simply but her thoughts are about how such distant lives were lived and would be be complex and different from her own:

(3) You know if you can make something that you can wield and you can use then you can survive.

Interviewer: Yes.

(3) If you take all the books and everything you read today. Where would you be if you couldn't fend for yourself?

In his usual roundabout way No.9 shows that he has begun to think about the WWI figures in the context of their own history. As with the examples above it is possible to see that he has been engaged in thinking about the connections he is making with past lives and their reality even though he is not able to express them very well:

(9) You would assume the different nations would have at times have rubbed shoulders you obviously what I'm saying would have known how prepar' - we saw images of Australian soldiers who looked like they were ready and up for it against ones that had been conscripted and looked like they were in somebody else's costume. So, it's all that, bringing all that together was again enabled for me through the artefacts that came on later on, which was the shrapnel and the bullets of different shapes that were available. So it's those connections which again shows a sophisticated lesson in terms of if you can start to chip off all those different connections to make them see the sort of things that you picked up as you go through erm - but probably why, for me those type of things like that I would have focus on more as opposed to er uniforms which didn't really engage me in the same way.

Later in the interview No.9 goes on to explain the following thoughts about context in which the soldier's lives were lived:

(9) Yes I think it's that, it's understanding how that sits 'cos relating through to people, to me, the objective of the thing - was to be able to contextualise the experience of the people who were about to go in to fight war who had a knowledge that already that most of the people who had got there had been killed so they're going into what was like a no win situation...

No.10 shows that he too has thought about the lives of WWI soldiers. Although in his case he is able to draw upon multiple strands of his own learning to provide for a strong context for the ideas he appears to be forming:

(10) During the poem I was kind of taken from a kind of literary side it made me kind of slightly think of Kipling in a way because when I do think of war poems

and poets I'm kind of drawn to Kipling especially with 'My Boy Jack' and Jack Kipling's story erm which is my own production which is something I told you. But I think poems especially one like that where it's deliberately written in a very colloquial style. I think again kind of - grounds it a bit more especially in a kind of area like this where you've kind of got a very broad - . In Lancashire we've got a very broad sense of an accent erm you know I was thinking of things like 'Albert and the Lion' where - . It's poems like that which are deliberately drawn in a very broad Lancashire accent. It does help ground it especially when you talk to some many kids and they've kind of got an idea of what posh is and quite a few of the films you could go back to there's kind of very traditional officer parts in a very upper-class accent and that immediately grounds it if you want to talk about class.

No.8 showed similar thoughts about the contextual connections he was making to past lives. Again, he seems to be trying to relate the knowledge acquired to his own background knowledge:

Interviewer: This was going through your mind as you were handling those artefacts?

(8) Yes, whilst I was handling the artefacts and then even then especially with reflecting on WWI, the kind of - it's almost an access point for civilisation, especially modern civilisation where before it you had this huge period of expansion and invasion and of empire and it's all these European powers stretching all over the world and then it all collapses in on itself.

This interview process was not designed to uncover what the students had learned historically. However, in exploring the dimensions of OHR which related to pedagogical

reasoning statements often conveyed a strong sense that their successful thinking about past lives had been linked to ideas around the gaining and understanding of historical context. In other words, the students were thinking about how they had gained an emerging consciousness of the past.

What comes through strongly in the above section is that almost all the students mention the importance of seeing the context in which an artefact existed, their thinking about context often appeared to be related to things they are able to connect with (war and fear; service, work in a great house and hunger in prehistory). This had led me to a speculation that taught sessions using material culture may be successful in promoting historical thinking because they are 'non-threatening' in that they do not rely on the non-specialist student's levels of prior knowledge or the interpretation of historically complex sources. For instance, in the past I have attempted to analyse the motives of Claudius with specialist history students and we have used the work of Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana*, Vol. 60, 19 to understand the invasion of Britain. However, I felt that such a source was challenging for the specialist and may be like trying to run before they can walk for the non-specialist. Therefore, even for the specialists I obtained authentic artefacts (in support of the source) that were tied to this event, for example coins of the Roman Emperor Claudius and Verica of the Atrebates (the British king who originally sought Claudius' help). This was because I felt that using such examples of material culture may allow the specialist student to both engage with the vocabulary offered by established historians and sources and also to gain a powerful conception of reality of the historical figures themselves. Indeed, in the past the criticism of Historical Empathy (HE) was that emergent learners of history had insufficient knowledge or maturity to understand the contexts in which

people in the past lived. However, these students all mention the importance of contexts, and were able to connect with them. They also demonstrated that they recognized that the past was different from the present without needing to discuss values, attitudes, beliefs and knowledge bases.

We should recall that these are non-specialist student teachers whose ideas, my experience suggests, are similar to those that children express about people in the past. Table 4.3 (below) illustrates the different ways in which students attempt to make links to or imagine past lives and it is possible to speculate that these methods may also work with children.

The quotations above show that both Category A thinking, as derived from the literature and the theme, Pedagogical Reasoning which was derived from the data, are closely linked. This is illustrated in table 4.1 below and justifies the inclusion of this theme as a component of Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR).

Salient features identified from Category 'A' *'Reflections which arise from the historical activity itself'* which arose from the literature were then compared with the data.

The category originally proposed that the students would reflect on the historical processes they have encountered to make further links to their own historical knowledge. In this category it was thought that they may also reflect on the activities as a methodology for instruction in history. Links between category A thinking and the theme Pedagogical reasoning are shown in table 4.1

<p>Reality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The students were able to apply thinking to understand the reality of the past. • They demonstrated that they were engaging with the authenticity of the past.
<p>Complexity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The students sometimes expressed ideas using a limited vocabulary which may underestimate complex thinking. • They showed an ability to think through complex ideas about past lives.
<p>Context</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The students saw obvious implications linked to the effect of prior knowledge on learning about past lives. • They demonstrated that they were thinking about context and demonstrated an awareness that past lives were different. • They demonstrated an awareness of the value of contextual connection.

Table 4.1 Links between Category A derived from the literature and the theme Pedagogical reasoning.

Table 4.1 shows salient features identified in students' responses which relate to both Category thinking, A as derived from the literature (related to the activity encountered) and the theme pedagogical reasoning which was derived from the data

4.2 Discussion and analysis of Category B, (Thoughts related to the reality of past lives) and the theme, Understanding of reality.

All 11 participants engaged in discussions which reflected the theme, Understanding of reality. Participants, 9,8,6,5,4 and 3 offered the most reasoning about this theme whilst participants 1,2,10 and 11 gave the least. The data demonstrated that the use of the word story may link to a participant's understanding of the reality of the past, which became the theme Understanding reality. This largely unprompted theme demonstrates that the participants can gain an awareness of the reality of past lives, or sometimes an emerging awareness of past lives, through evidence such as artefacts. It may also be that they are beginning to use this awareness of reality to connect them to the narrative of the past.

An example of how artefacts can prompt thoughts about past lives was discussed on the BBC Radio 4 programme ('Word of Mouth,' Tuesday 19th April 2016 at 4:00) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b077ggvc> (re-accessed 20/04/2016). Here Ross Wilson discussed the way in which the language of history may be used to differentiate us as modern people by 'excluding others through language'; i.e. 'living in the Stone Age or the Dark Ages,' 'being a bit of a dinosaur or a Neanderthal' and 'Medieval acts of brutality'. Michael Rosen (the presenter) then discussed his feeling (as a child), on seeing the Alfred Jewel in the Ashmolean Museum and how he felt misled about the Dark Ages through seeing this incredible artefact, which caused him to re-appraise the period. A number of participants made comments which demonstrated how a past figure could similarly come to life through the artefacts. It almost seems as if the reality

of past lives can be hidden by the language of history and the artefact prompts them to become apparent to the participant.

(9) Yes, so war is an abstract it's hard to appreciate, the things that you showed us today allowed us to understand more of the reality....

History may represent a version of a collective memory as described by Habib (2013:10-11) and it may be possible to engage in thinking about how an individual might respond to that collective memory. Part of this assimilation may be an increasing consciousness of the reality of the past. In other words, this may represent the way the student assimilates the narrative of history and relates it to the reality of their own lives and beliefs. Bruner (1991:3-19) described this as a form of 'narrative construction' which is how humans organise their experience and memory of 'human happenings.' These are not constructions that are generated by logical and scientific procedures. These narrative constructions can only achieve verisimilitude. Verisimilitude within narrative is, therefore, not just a way of representing reality but is a way of constituting reality, i.e. our narrative is built of the realities that we perceive. This may mean that in constructing ideas about the past we may be forming a new narrative of our 'own' place in reality and what it means to be a part of our 'own' culture and the continuum of past and present. Thus, we begin to see history as a subject with which we are intimately connected. It involves constructing a narrative of our own existence which can be set against past realities.

The feelings of the participants were often expressed in ways which indicated that they have thought about the reality of the past and begun to consider themselves in relation to its narrative. These feelings are in some way different and more complex than the simple affective connections worried about by Lee and Shemilt (2011). This is

because there is some evidence set within these statements that the students are beginning to think not just about reality of the past but also about themselves in relation to the reality they perceive. This engagement with the reality of the past may be expressed as an understanding that they cannot fully know that truth. Here, for example, no.11 who is speaking about what she has learned about the Somme battle in 1916, is clearly affected by what she has discovered. She opens her statement with a short sentence that indicates that she knows she cannot fully appreciate what it is like to have lived through the battle. However, she is clearly considering her own self in relation to this history because she indicates that she should honour the soldiers by knowing more about what happened to them. She also describes her guilt which lies in her ignorance of that plight. Finally, she says that she likes learning about the war and wants to know more so that she can pass it on:

(11) I personally always feel like you don't have a right to feel anything because - how can you? How, how can you feel sad just hearing about it because you know, you should do everyone the honour of knowing as much as you can about it and - I felt embarrassed that I didn't know about -. I've heard of the The Somme but I didn't know anything about it, I've just heard of it and I felt -.

Interviewer: *That worried you?*

(11) I felt like guilty -.

Interviewer: *Right.*

(11) That I didn't know about it at all umm, but then as soon as - I don't know I just, I love to learn things about the war, so I was just trying to think just please stay in my brain so then I can pass this to someone else and -.

We may think about Bruner's (1991:3-19) account of 'narrative construction,' the experience and memory of 'human happenings.' Thus, the student begins to see history as a subject to which they can be connected and thus constructs a narrative of their own existence which can be set against the realities they perceive. However, this is achieved in a knowing way and the students are able to reflect that their knowledge is incomplete. No.7 expresses this rather well:

(7) You can like not imagine, because obviously you're not there and you can't put yourself in their time but you can start to think about the hardships maybe and what people went through and how life is very different.

No.10's words seem rather philosophical and almost prosaic, but the words '*an entire world of person*' lies in the photographs seems to express that he too feels an awareness of his link to this diachronic narrative that reflects changes through time. However, he also clearly feels distant from the historical figures and seems to confirm this when he explains '*they are imminently unfathomable because we never knew them.*' Their deaths have muted them he observes but in acknowledging it he has clearly thought about their story:

(10) ... then there is an entire world of person in those photographs that people kind of - they can't pick out because they are imminently unfathomable because we never knew them and then they are suddenly kind of muted to you because those people were dead very shortly after.

We can, therefore, assume that the non-specialist student is aware that the past existed but it is possible to speculate that they may not be confident of their historical knowledge or have acquired the vocabulary whereby they can easily reflect on the reality of history. Material culture, however, may offer a different opportunity to

intimately view past lives in a way that transcends the requirements for historical knowledge and academic vocabulary. This is because the material culture is connected to a past reality which allows the participant to have some insights into the experience of the historical figure. Once they have achieved this understanding of the past reality it may be possible for them to reflect on their own connection to the historical narrative. However, in doing this they have also made it clear that they are aware that they cannot fully penetrate the reality of the past. This shows ways in which students saw the past as a reality, in which people had once been as alive as they are today.

Salient features identified from Category B, '*Understanding the reality of the past*' which arose from the literature were then compared to the data. This category was held to be where the reality of past lives becomes fully apparent to the student. It posited that they may reflect on or even draw inferences concerning what the material culture can tell them about past lives. They may also make judgements or logical inferences about the past lives that they have encountered. Table 4.2 shows links between Category B thinking based on the literature and the theme, Understanding of reality, derived from the data.

Artefacts

- Artefacts appeared to validate the story of the past.
- Seeing an artefact allows them to re-appraise their version of the past.
- The authenticity of the artefact relates to the student's perception of reality.
- Imperfections confer validity on the artefact.
- The reality of the past can be unfathomable but is glimpsed through artefacts.
- Language can exclude them from the reality of the past but the artefact may allow them to re-enter it.
- Artefacts appeared to allow them to enter the past without being aware of the full context in which they existed.

Mental movement

- A perception of reality allows for mental movement between the past and the present.
- Sometimes a student may be described as touching upon the reality of the past rather than trying to enter it.

Understanding the reality of the past

- The acceptance of history as a fact may be different to the perception of its reality.
- Accepting reality may also confer the ability to take on different perspectives.

- They can demonstrate an understanding that reality of the past is different to the present.
- The student may demonstrate an understanding that they are only gaining transient glimpses of reality.

Table 4.2 Links between Category B and the overarching theme Understanding of reality.

Table 4.2 shows how students' responses reflected both Category B thinking derived from the literature review, 'Thoughts related to the reality of past lives' and the theme 'Reality' derived from the data.

4.4 Discussion and analysis of the Category C thinking (attempts to make links with or imagine past lives) derived from the literature and the theme Perception of the historical figure derived from the data

Thoughts about the reality of past lives may lead to other thoughts and speculations about what those lives were actually like. This is the area of the putative concept OHR which most strongly reflects the concept of Historical Empathy (HE). Perception of the historical figure was a strong finding from the data. Indeed, all participants demonstrated thinking that reflected this theme. Participants, 1,2,3,4,6,8,9 and 11 displayed similar levels of thinking and that from no.10 was the largest whilst 7 and 5 were the most limited. There were a number of ways in which the participants demonstrated their thinking and so I have broken the theme, Perception of the historical figure into six sections (4.4.i a-f). This section explores the relationship

between psychological empathy (Ψ_e) and Historical Empathy (HE) in Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR). It concludes that Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR) can involve psychological empathy (Ψ_e) and in some contexts Historical Empathy (HE) and sometimes both and sometimes neither.

- a) Mental movement to think about the reality of the past.
- b) Thoughts about differences and similarities with the past.
- c) Statements that may demonstrate both psychological empathy (Ψ_e) and Historical Empathy (HE).
- d) Historical Empathy (HE) as part of the theme, Perception of the historical figure.
- e) Psychological empathy (Ψ_e) as part of the theme, Perception of the historical figure
- f) Imagination and the theme, Perception of the historical figure.

Section 4.4.i (a-f) defines the scope of Perception of the historical figure as a component of OHR. This provides evidence that emergent learners of history can make historically valid connections with people who lived in the past, through artefacts. In doing so they appear to naturally understand that the past was in some ways similar and in others different from the present. Therefore, they may employ Historical Empathy (HE) while avoiding the problem of limited contextual knowledge and/or psychological empathy (Ψ_e) because of aspects of shared humanity with people who used the objects. There is evidence of thinking that they can only have limited understanding of people in the past. There is little evidence of the 'flights of fancy' as assumed by critics of the concept of Historical Empathy (HE). There is also evidence

that non-specialist students can 'project themselves into the past' in valid ways which critics of HE had feared that was unhistorical.

In his work on Lonegran's historical philosophy McPartland (2010:7-11) asks the following questions:

What is the method of human knowing? What is the difference between description and explanation? What, if anything, constitutes lived history as a drama so as to lend special validity to historical narrative?

Lonegran is thinking about the spontaneous enquirer who is attentive to their own experience within the framework of their own horizons. In other words, the human understands that they do not live in isolation, that they are connected both to the past and the future. In my lecture series I sometimes explain that this is like the Roman god Janus who looks two ways; both into the future and the past. This section, therefore, is about how OHR may reflect such thoughts. How does the student begin to think about past lives which are located within the continuum of human time? How do they acknowledge and think about a presence which has passed? This important section discusses the four aspects of the theme 'Perceptions of the historical figure' with specific references to the literature and to the data.

4.4.i a Mental movement to think about the reality of the past.

In this section we note that grasping the idea that a past life was real may enable the participant to mentally move between the past and present. In terms of psychology we might recall from Chapter 1 that time-memory is an important adaptation which allows an organism to learn from experience (Manning, Cassel and Cassel 2013). They also (p.234) note the mechanism of mental time-travel in terms of thinking which

involves memory. Wheeler et al. (1997:331-335) relate mental time-travel to the ability to mentally project one's self in time through the use of imagination. They described episodic memory, which is a specific neuro-cognitive system that has evolved for the purposes of mental time-travel. This was described by Waytz, Hershfield and Tamir (2015:336) as self-projection which is a way of mentally transcending the present to occupy a different time or place. It may be, therefore, that imaginative thoughts about the reality of the past require the ability for mental time-travel to think about that reality. It may also be that mental time-travel which involves the perception of the reality of past lives allows the perceiver to reflect on who they are in relation to those historical others. This conception of a relationship with such figures would be also achieved through the kind of socio-cognitive processes described by Prekel, Kanske and Singer (2018). It was particularly notable, therefore, that all of the participants demonstrated that they had thought about the past lives they encountered. It is equally interesting that they sometimes appeared to think about them in ways in which indicated some kind of mental time-travel. No.11's words below concern the poet G.A. Studdert-Kennedy. Her statement seems to demonstrate that she had engaged in imaginative time-travel to think about him:

(11) Yes, I saw him but I couldn't see where he was, but I could see him, he was very scruffy...

What was remarkable about the example given above was its rarity. It was one of the few examples of an attempt to imagine the historical figure in situation that seemed to involve an element of fantasy. It was notable that her later comments about the poet were much more grounded. Most examples of mental time-travel were very different in complexion; for example, here is no.10 talking about his vision of the WWI

soldiers. He has, like no.11 demonstrated mental time-travel to think about their plight. He has also demonstrated the deployment of Ψ_e as he attempts to think about their emotions.

(10) I was very much thinking of that, I think stark fact, that very stark fact, you know white on black was - you know all these people would probably be dead in the next few days or weeks or months that does hit you with quite a bit of force and I think you know you can - the way in which you used it was quite you, don't get me - not quite joy- you know what do we think of these people? What kind of emotions can you read in their faces? What do you think this person was...

There were strong indications from the data about the nature of thinking which occurred when a student was considering past lives. It often seemed as if the student found that mental time-travel was a good way to think about a past life. This no.2 is discussing the mobile phone time-line. She seems to be implying that the opportunity to engage in mental time-travel is what made the teaching more enjoyable.

(2) ...almost like going back in time for yourself because you were alive to see it - alive for that bit. I liked how we put it in a timeline because it actually had some purpose as well as not just revealing history but sharing history amongst yourselves.

No.6's words 'to look back' seem to imply that the 'moment' she has glimpsed in the Victorian photographs has prompted her to engage in mental time-travel.

(6)... that it's such a big thing to catch a moment in pictures and to look back and think well it's the same.

4.4.i b Thoughts about similarities and differences with past lives as part of the theme, Perception of the historical figure.

Sharing in the experience of the past.

Perception of the historical figure is where the learner begins to see the past and reflect upon its reality. This may lead to the possibility of a statement such as ‘we saw them there’ i.e. the learner is able to share in an element of a past-experience. Sharing in an experience may be as small as being aware that both they and the historical figure have handled the same coin. It may lead also to an imagination of past people’s emotions or motives as they carried out an action. This may be similar to the kind of thinking proposed by Cronis (2015: 180-8) who reported that artefacts can evoke the presence of the past through the imagination and allow the viewer to enter into the life lived in the past. students appeared to do this to different degrees and most of their insights were relatively simple. For instance, No.4 made the following comment after seeing the dress (artefact 15, appendix I) and the photographs. This type of statement indicates that she may have engaged in mental time-travel and thought about the possible relationship between a Victorian woman and her servants:

(4) I don't think she'd have spoken to the servants, I think she'd have asked them stuff - ordered them around but I think she'd have looked down on them because she can afford to have servants. So, she might have been lovely and like speaking to them and stuff - but she might have been penalized if she was seen like speaking to servants and staff.

No 7 offers a much simpler insight into past life based upon an affective and bodily connection to what it must have been like to have worn the footman’s jacket. This

again may possibly be displaying an element of mental time-travel but this time it less clear:

(7) I think it was just the fact that it was heavy and makes you think about maybe that's what people would have been like in that time and that they had to walk around with such a heavy jacket on it was...

All the students in the study alluded to the connections they were making with past lives and these seemed to follow different patterns. Some of the simplest were comparisons.

Making a comparison with past lives.

Making a comparison with past lives is an indication that the student is thinking about herself in relation to the past. Such thinking may be a demonstration of commonality with historical figures in terms of behavioural, social, biological, cognitive, affective, conative (obtaining dreams, goals, self-efficacy, need for control) and spiritual needs as humans as shown by Huitt (2011). In order to engage in such thinking it may be important to understand that the past figure was real and then to intuit that the person who inhabited the past is in some way similar to themselves. No.3 demonstrates that such a comparison can be as simple as spotting that an artefact such as a Roman dice has not changed:

(3) It must have been a very good idea because we're still using it nowadays to play games, to count and we're still adapting it to do what we need to do in everyday life and -.

Sometimes such phrases also convey an idea that the student has looked back into the past to form an idea. No.5 had expressed a strong interest in the photographs (she had

called them 'pictures' in her previous remark). Her remarks seem to indicate that she is thinking about the differences between costume, actions and faces in the past and the present; her phrase '*And again, looking at their lives*' seems to convey an idea that she is looking back through time.

(5) And again, looking at their lives, I suppose it's looking at their lives and what they're wearing and doing and if they look happy.

In the following statement no. 6 is thinking about the photograph of Nazi officers in Russia and then reflects on how this led to the chilling realisation that they were just people who were not very different to those she knows now. This seems to convey two strong ideas about her thinking. Firstly; her phrase '*that's so and so's granddad and that's their dad and their uncle*' indicated that she has thought about the figures in relation to her own life. Secondly; her words, '*and then knowing what they've done or what they're about to do*' indicate that she may be seeing the figures in the context of their own time and thus, demonstrate that she has engaged in mental time-travel to think about them:

(6) Yes, and just knowing that really they just look like, if somebody saw a picture ok that's so and so's granddad and that's their dad and their uncle and you wouldn't think anything of it and then knowing what they've done or what they're about to do, it's just, just a bit scary.

The making of such comparisons and the sharing of experiences may also be linked to the disposition of psychological empathy (Ψ_e) which, the reader may recall, allows for the alignment of emotion in terms of forming affective links to the plight of others. We might recall from the literature that Singer et al., (2008:782) and, Roberts, Strayer and Denham (2014:465) had noted that psychological empathy (Ψ_e) could indicate an

underlying feeling of ‘similarity and security with others.’ Such a feeling may entail an appraisal of one’s self in relation to others. In other words, this type of thinking could involve ideas about the experiences of others in relation to ourselves.

4.4.i c Making connections: statements that may demonstrate both psychological empathy (Ψ_e) and Historical Empathy (HE) and as part of the theme, Perception of the historical figure.

In Category B ‘Reality’ the student demonstrated thoughts about the reality of past lives. The data seemed to demonstrate that OHR may effectively be a frame of reference that the student is constructing for thinking about past lives as if they had been real. Thus, it would be natural for an awareness of the presence of others to prompt a student to engage in empathetic reasoning and thinking. Lockwood, Seara-Cardoso and Viding, (2014), Christov-Moore et al. (2014:604) and Roberts, Strayer and Denham (2014) have demonstrated that Ψ_e is a key component of human socialization and an instinctual tool for thinking about and engaging with others. In other words, when a student becomes conscious of the presence of an historical figure it may be entirely natural to think about them in empathetic terms. No.6 seems to have modified her normal feeling for others to encompass those in the past. For example, her words, ‘*and I think history is just that on a bigger scale*’ imply that she seems to accord the past figure a similar status to that of a contemporary. She is suggesting that she is encompassing people in the same way that she does the present:

(6) I’m a people person – I love knowing about people and their history and I like people telling me about the wonderful things they’ve done in their lives and

the experiences that have made them who they are - and I think history is just that on a bigger scale.

The data often seemed to suggest that the past figure could emerge through the evidence and this would prompt the student to think about them. No.9 demonstrated that such an 'emergence' could be quite a powerful experience:

(9) Yeah, I think after we looked at the photographs of course when we talked about most of those soldiers and we assume were probably killed that was quite powerful - erm considering we had just been trying to work out as much as we could about these different soldiers - kind of erm, I don't know the more you go looking in detail of pictures of real people it suddenly puts the context of how they were killed, it gives it a bit more - it gives it more gravity and you can appreciate it more er and then getting the artefacts out erm - things like the shells you brought out as well, I found that quite powerful, you suddenly umm begin to appreciate because of the er you know the things that these soldiers were probably going through and just er...

We now need to consider whether it is possible that the types of thinking that are being deployed as the student perceives the past figure align with the various conceptions of empathy which were outlined in Chapter 1.

4.4.i d Historical empathy (HE) as part of the theme, Perception of the historical figure.

The examples given in the section above from participants 6 and 9 demonstrated that they had made some attempt to think about past figures as having lived lives that were real. It may be that these examples also demonstrate an element of empathetic

thinking. Is it possible, therefore, to make any conclusions from the data about the nature of any empathy, both HE and Ψ_e , that is present? For example, does this thinking about past lives constitute the natural deployment of Historical Empathy (HE)? For instance, Endacott and Sturtz (2015:2,3) explain that HE can enable the student historian to see historical figures as human beings who faced similar struggles to those that we do today. This may be construed from thoughts outlined above where students made comparisons or shared experiences with past lives. This is no.3 discussing the Egyptian 18th Dynasty necklace (artefact 16, appendix I).

(3) Emm I suppose because it's familiar but different, you know it's almost like something we find at the seaside today isn't it sort of umm. I don't know, I like the colours.

No.3 later went on to explain:

(3) Oh and the colours, you know you sort of associate (with it) don't you with the colours - and I saw it as Egyptian.

It is as if the necklace has enabled her to make a connection to the past through the shared experience of either wearing it (some students were allowed to place it around their own necks during the session) or perhaps looking at it and admiring the colour. This is best expressed when she explains '*you know you sort of associate (with it) don't you*' and '*I suppose because it's familiar but different*'.

Another of the ways we might recognise whether the students are deploying HE in a more sophisticated and thoughtful way is if we can demonstrate they are conscious that the historical life was different to their own. There were many examples of this. For instance, no.7 also showed a clear consciousness of rejecting what Brophy and Allerman (2006) call 'presentism' in that she thought that it would be very difficult for

her to imagine the thoughts of a past historical character because she was not present at the time.

(7) Because you can't physically go back to then, we can try to re-create it - but we will never know exactly what it's like. So although there's like all the texts and different things and artefacts we can't physically know what a person was like unless we bring them back from the dead and are maybe like talking to them about what it was like, we can't - we don't know that we're getting everything specifically down to the minor details right, we can try but it'll never be the same.

Indeed, the students were often quite eloquent in expressing a lack of confidence about their ability to understand what the historical figure may have been thinking. No.8 was asked about his reaction to the battlefield artefacts. He states that the 'degree of separation' between him and the battle in some way removed him from the full horror of what had occurred:

(8) Erm I wouldn't say any of them made me recoil in that way erm I think because there was still that degree of separation from the real horrors of the battle, you were still just using them to imagine what might have happened ...

Cooper (1991:33) made an observation that in interpreting historical evidence it is necessary to understand that people may have thought and felt differently from us in the past. Cooper (1991:42) also made the case that historical imagination is the process that leads to HE, which is an understanding that people in the past may have thought and acted differently. It is almost as if the students are expressing cognitively dissonant views in both thinking about what the figure might have felt and knowing that they cannot know what they felt. Indeed, both no.8 (above) and no.2 (below)

allude to the fact that although they know they cannot really understand what people thought and felt in the past they had still attempted to imagine what might have occurred. No.8 uses the words, *'you were still just using them to imagine what might have happened'* and no.2 says, *'you're talking through aspects and factors that could be actually what happened'*. However, as with no.8, no.2 makes it clear that she too does not really know what happened:

(2) People kind of look back to their history so you're talking through aspects and factors that could be actually what happened so although you don't necessarily know it's interesting to discuss it...

A further example is no.6 who makes a very similar statement which conveys that she has both thought about what the historical figure may have felt and knows that she cannot know what they actually felt.

(6) You can like, not imagine, because obviously you're not there and you can't put yourself in their time - but you can start to think about the hardships maybe and what people went through and how life is very different.

This is a good example of what Endacott and Brooks (2013:41-43) may have been discussing when they identified that HE may be composed of 3 endeavours. Two of them, 'historical contextualisation' – a temporal sense of the norms of the time-period and 'perspective taking' – understanding another's life experiences and beliefs being different to our own, seem to be exemplified by the statements of 7,8,2 and 6 given above. These are similar ideas to those of Barton and Levstik (2013:8) who identify what they term an identification stance in which students identify with an element of the past whilst understanding that the past was different. As a further interesting example, the next excerpt is a section of a lengthy reply by no.2. In it she gives a sense

of her wish to, as she puts it, '*kind of look into the story*' and she also uses the word '*connect*' which seems to demonstrate an urge to identify with the past. However, she also contextualises her answer by saying that a person will not fully understand the '*story*':

(2) ...Erm, I do like replicas but the actual real thing I go like this is old, this is and you kind of look into the story but obviously you don't necessarily know the story or the characters that are in there but you can try and connect by what they are wearing and what like they might be feeling and I liked the one that you put on the board with the baby and trying to determine whether the baby was laughing or crying and I thought that was really interesting for people to have interpretations of their picture but I mean so many people have got so many interpretations...

This type of thinking may demonstrate that the participant is naturally aware of perspective by showing that they are aware that the context in which the past life was lived may be different from their own. In other words, it conveys the idea that Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR) may include thinking that demonstrates the natural deployment of HE.

4.4.i e Psychological empathy (Ψ_e) as part of the theme, Perception of the historical figure.

In thinking about Ψ_e we can reflect upon the work of Christov-Moore et al. (2014 :604) who discussed deliberative processes which they termed mentalizing. Mentalizing is a state which can lead to inferences about another person's bodily and affective states, beliefs and intentions. For example, when participant no.3 is discussing the Celtic coin,

her initial reaction to it is a sense that it has been treasured in the past. When she asks '*what does that signify*' she also seems to be reflecting on the beliefs of those past people who originally used the coin. This may constitute an example of mentalizing about what a coin meant to a very distant and possibly indistinct Celtic figure:

(3) Absolutely, I think you can sort of sense it being treasured but also you know it's been shared. That has history that is to do with people isn't it sort of – you see why you can connect to it because it's sort of familiar with what we do today.

Later she added:

(3) Sensory wise you know it's something you could handle and um you know and then sort of there's quite a lot to think about. You know it makes you think you know the patterns what does that signify? That kind of thing.

No.3's sentiments, however, are tentative and her thoughts clearly are not fully formed. There were many other possibly clearer examples of Ψ_e which were often deployed towards more distinctive figures. However, these examples of empathy often seemed to be complex. Indeed, Smith (2006: 4-8) describes empathy as a highly complex behaviour which enables us to understand the behaviour of others. Like many of the other students no.11 is also taken with the photographs. Here her thought '*oh I'll take this for mum send it off*' is an indication that she has mentalized about what the photographs may have meant to the soldiers. Her empathetic thoughts may, however, be expressed in multiple ways even in this short section because the outset her words about '*sadness*' also seem to be displaying the kind of adaptive guilt (an underlying feeling of similarity and security with others) noted by Roberts, Strayer and

Denham (2014, p.465). No.11 seems to be displaying these thoughts in relation to the fate of the WWI soldiers:

(11) Yeah, just, just pure sadness, you know, that these people had lives and they probably were just you know - and they looked so young - they would be younger than us and they probably did just think 'oh I'll take this for mum send it off' and they probably never got sent off and I just think that's sad and it's sad that it happened again after that and it still happens.

Mentalizing is a cognitive response to the state of others, it is in essence, the conscious thinking response rather than a reactive response. Christov- Moore et al. (2014:604-7) explain that mentalizing can lead to inferences, beliefs and intentions which are broadly mapped to cognitive Ψ_e . No.10 demonstrates he may have been mentalizing about the soldiers after hearing Studdert-Kennedy's poem. No.10's is a response to written material and Marsh (2018:110-115) notes that written narrative about pain and suffering can elicit brain activity in areas that are involved in mentalizing. No.10 appears to be engaging in this type of mentalizing when he talks about an act of 'catharsis' and it being 'very hard to heal from those experiences.' His ideas are clearly more developed than those of no.3 given above:

(10) Um I slightly, in a kind of (missing word) one has to separate the poet's voice from the poems but especially for the war poets that's very hard to do because so much of what they were writing about was about their own immediate experience and it's very much a catharsis - em the act of writing is an act of purging and an act of - if not necessarily healing because I can't imagine - you know I've never been in war - it's very hard to heal from those experiences - but certainly an act of reflection - and an act of - and also kind of

a way of these people being very aware of their own imminence of death and their own mortality.

No.3, however, also indicates that she may be mentalizing and forming more complex ideas about the archaeological figures with whom she is concerned. She seems to be revising her opinions through handling the Neolithic axe which leads her to a clear thought about the 'intelligence' of the past:

(3) There wasn't always a sense of intelligence actually - from history. And when I see this, you know, I like I think umm there isn't a greater sign of intelligence than craftsmanship.

No.9's analysis is a little harder to follow but similarly to no.11 he displays evidence of mentalizing about what it may be like to have had a member of the family fighting in WWI. This statement is as a result of seeing the munitions and the photographs of the soldiers:

(9) Erm, if I can have multiple things I think the umm the pictures I thought were very powerful because they enable to you to relate through - umm you know you could do that with people of different ages so that if you've got a younger brother - if you've got an older brother - if you've got somebody else in the family you can start to relate through people who were going to go and fight a war. According to people who lived at that time and seeing the way they looked - and understand the way they represented themselves - and how they came across that's very powerful for me.

No.9 however, may also, be demonstrating that he is engaged in other forms of psychological empathy (Ψ_e). This is possible because in comparing himself to the soldier he may be attempting to share in the emotions of the historical figure. Artinger

et al. (2014) note that this is a dimension of Ψ_e where emotions are shared through interaction with people and the environment. Preckel, Kanske and Singer (2018:1) describe this as sharing or resonating with the feelings of another person. This is the kind of empathy that can be contagious, (Zaki and Ochner 2012) and achieved almost without awareness. We may also reflect on the work of Singer et al. (2008; Singer 2013) who demonstrate that we can physically share some sensations such as the reality of pain even when we do not experience it ourselves. No.8 seems similarly to be attempting to share the emotions of the historical figure when he uses the words *'I think it's trying to picture myself using things.'* In doing so he makes it clear that the weight of the shell parts had more impact on him than the cap badge of a soldier who had trained in the location of the University and lost it at Ypres during WWI. This is no.8 also indicating that he has attempted to picture himself as a soldier. He conveys a strong sense that he has attempted to think about what it must have actually been like to be on a battlefield:

(8) I think it's trying to picture myself using things erm being for example a soldier who had died, imagining the emotions they were going through, imaging some of the things they might have been thinking about so all the things like that, things that gain emotion things that perhaps they haven't appreciated, they haven't considered that much before, so for example the weight of the shell was more than I had expected so that was quite interesting whereas things like the badge on the cap was interesting to hear where it was like coming from it wasn't so surprising to see as much as the other things so I found it a bit less - it grabbed my attention a bit less I would say.

No.4's thoughts are much simpler. She seems to be thinking about the emotions of the historical figures in the Victorian photographs and displays a strong reaction to what she had previously described as the '*sad and very haunted*' photographs of the '*unsmiling*' Victorian women.

(4) Yes, they were - the men I didn't really find the men that scary but the women they look very stern, very serious and strict.

The participant replies given above seem to constitute the deployment of Ψ_e which is directed towards an historical figure. They also demonstrate the highly variable complexity of these thoughts and demonstrate that it is possible to detect several dimensions of Ψ_e deployed even in one statement. These replies seem to demonstrate, therefore, that Ψ_e may form a natural component of OHR.

4.4.i f Imagination and the theme, Perception of the historical figure.

Some thoughts from the theme Perceptions of the historical figure seem to demonstrate that the participant is visualising or imagining the past figure rather than attempting to engage with them through empathetic processes. I am calling this facet of thinking – 'imagination'. I believe that this type of imaginative reasoning about an historical figure can also constitute thinking about the past figure as being real without the deployment of either Ψ_e or HE. The reader may recall no.11's rather prosaic description of her imaginary vision of G.A. Studdert-Kennedy in the trench:

(11) I saw him but I couldn't see where he was but I could see him, he was very scruffy...

This seemed to imply that she had a clear vision of an historical figure in his own context that was related to the evidence she had seen. She conveys a strong sense

that she is imaging the historical figure. No.11 had been led to her imagination through an artefact – in this case the 1917 copy of the Studdert-Kennedy book (artefact 12, appendix I) and his poem ‘What’s the Good’ which was read during the session. The imaginative insight we gain from no.3 is different to no.11. She demonstrates a mental shift from considering the possibility of the Neolithic axe’s apparent mechanical perfection to conveying a sense that she has imagined the distant figure attempting to make one.

(3) Yeah, yeah but if you didn't tell me that this was old I would have thought of made by machine you know because it is quite perfect in a sense isn't it. Sort you know the shape of it and um it would have taken a lot of skill to get it just so particularly when you see the rough version. I can appreciate how many they had to go through to get to this axe it's -.

The glimpses nos. 11 and 3 demonstrate are quite different and no.11’s imagination is by far the richest. However, both students convey the idea that they are thinking about the historical figure from the outside and they are not trying to enter their mind. This remote imagination of the past figure, literally, ‘seeing them there’ seemed to form a key component of the theme Perceptions of the historical figure.

Salient features identified from Category C, ‘Sharing in the experience of the past or imagining the past, which arose from the literature were then compared to the data and the overarching theme Perception of the historical figure

This category was conceived as involving the possible deployment of affective HE or Ψe. It was also thought that the student might also be may attempt to imagine being

in the past or to 'see' the past figure in action. Finally, it was thought that students may attempt to draw inferences about the emotive or cognitive state of the past figure. Table 4.3 illustrates the different ways in which students attempt to perceive the historical figure.

Contact through the artefact

- Thinking about the past figure through contact with the artefact.
- A feeling that they can relate to the past evoked by the artefact.
- A feeling that they have, for example, touched the same 'coin.'

Feelings about the historical figure

- Feeling compelled or even forced to think about past historical figure by becoming aware of them.
- Powerful feelings about the past figure as they begin to emerge from the past.
- Feeling a sense of guilt about the plight of a past figure.

A conception of self in relation to the historical figure

- A sense of uncovering a past experience.
- Making comparisons between their own and a past experience.
- Thinking about the similarities and differences between the present and the past.
- Thinking about themselves in relation to the past figure.
- Understanding that we have similar needs to the past figure.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A feeling that we may have faced similar struggles to the past figure.
<p>Thinking about the mental states of past figures</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cognitive mentalizing to understand the behavior of others. • An attempt to share the sensations of a past figure. • Aligning oneself with the emotions of the past figure. • The re-enactment of an historical figure's thoughts. • Concrete thoughts about the past – 'that must have hurt.'
<p>Imagining the past figure</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entering the past through the use of imagination. • Seeing a historical figure in the past from the outside.
<p>Thinking about difference</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A consciousness of the difference between ourselves and past figures.

Table 4.3 Links between Category C and the overarching theme Perception of the historical figure.

Table 4.3 Illustrates the different ways in which students attempt to make links with, or imagine past lives (Category C derived from the literature) and the theme, Perception of the historical figure derived from the data

4.5 Discussion and analysis of the Category D, (students rethinking themselves as beings in time) derived from the literature and the overarching theme Sense of self derived from the data

All 11 participants demonstrated a 'Sense of self'. However, the level of reflection on this topic was more varied than in the other three overarching themes. Nos. 2,7,9,10 and 11 demonstrated high levels of a Sense of self whilst, nos. 3 and 8 gave much lower levels and no.6 demonstrated the lowest.

4.5.i Mental time-travel.

It was an expected result of the research that the participants would show that they thought of themselves as being located in time. The reader may recall No.1's words about the feeling of being at Beamish Museum:

(1)...I don't know, just that it makes you feel like you're living in a different time...

This seems to suggest that no. 1 has a conception of herself as a being located in time and that the encounter has made her think about it. Szpunar (2010:143; 2011:409) has drawn our attention to chromesthesia, which is the sense of time and auto-noetic consciousness which is our awareness of self in subjective time. Szpunar (2011) explained that this ability to think of ourselves in time is remarkable because it connects to both imagination and memory. Szpunar (2011:409) also noted that subjective time is something which is not clock or calendar time – not a physical reality but a product of the mind. The reader may recall that no.2 expressed a notion of understanding herself as a being in time when she discussed the mobile phone collection:

(2) It was like our kind of personal history when we were thinking of like the songs that were from during that time and maybe celebrities and the news it was really interesting going, almost like going back in time for yourself because you were alive to see it – alive for that bit...

This sense of self in relation to the past may also be related to autobiographical memory. Some psychological conceptions of memory give a sense of how we relate not only to our own memories but how we encompass a past which goes beyond us. In other words, such thinking can relate to the way in which we construct a picture of ourselves in relation to our own past and that of others. For instance, Wheeler et al. (1997:331-5) explained that mental time-travel is related to autobiographical memory and the ability to mentally project one's self into different times through imagination. No.7 seemed to be demonstrating this type of mental movement when she referred to her thoughts that arose from viewing the mobile phone collection:

(7) Yes, because we were thinking about the old, old things that we had, and then it was just and everyone was like I remember having this and do you remember and it brought back - it was personal to us which is a great way of connecting to history.

However, thoughts that showed a conception of themselves in time were rare, which was contrary to the expectations at the outset of this research. The data appeared to suggest that the students were thinking about themselves in relation to their own connections with the past.

4.5.ii Thinking about a past that encompasses themselves.

An unexpected result which arose from the data was the mention of the participants' grandparents and we now need to explore why this may have been such a notable response. This may relate to mechanisms which allow the participants to share in past experiences and then locate themselves in relation to the past. In other words, they are thinking about a past that encompasses themselves. Through doing this the participants may be thinking back to their own most significant contacts with the past. For example, no.1 once again allows us to have an insight into a special bond that she has with the past. She is describing Beamish Museum where some of her own family artefacts have been deposited:

(1) ... my grandma and her great grandma had stuff there and that's up in one of the houses – it's quite a local thing that's got significance that it's like whenever would I go there as a child and we take my little sister now it's just somewhere that I always imagine I'll go.

This may be an indication that the non-specialist history student is looking for ways to remodel their own thinking to encompass the reality of the past that they have encountered. In doing this they seem to be making references to connections of their own, connections that they have held previously. These connections may be in terms of their own previous experiences and knowledge as well as knowledge received from family. No.10 explains rather perceptively (I think) that this is like a website inside his head, a website which forms connections to other things.

(10)... I think then equally it sparks that kind of er - thought process or that thought map that kind of spreads out - almost a kind of website from the inside,

kind of expanding out - all these things making connections with all these other things.

For no.10 this is a connection to his own knowledge base.

(10) Very much so I mean, I mean my own kind of pedagogy especially when it comes to WWI because my background's in English and particularly English literature...

He also has a consciousness of not only his own grandparents but his wider culture and those younger than himself:

(10) ...in some ways it was quite moving but it's hard to not be moved - it's kind of one of those - it's very much in the cultural Zeitgeist at the moment being the centenary erm I also, er yeh it kind of - it does hit quite hard because I do know, of people in my family , you know of grandma's family and stuff like that who died in that war or who were part of that war erm and it's kind of - I think it's quite important especially for those who kind of come along later in the millennium who have never really experienced such an idea of total war to kind of reflect on that.

No.2 is discussing her grandfather and his work in Dalton's porcelain works in Stafford.

(2) ... it is fascinating because he worked in like the moulding department and he used be in charge of like the moulds they used to make for the different characters and how they did it. He's got some really funny stories and some of the er how things are made and how he used to like have the budget and they spent it and they used to get a lot of products to make these different things.

She is clearly making a connection to her own family history and a special bond she has with the past but she also seems to demonstrate the same web of connections

discussed by no.10 and in this case she demonstrates how much knowledge she has of her grandfather's life. Statements were then sought from the data which may allow further insights into what may be prompting such thoughts. No.9 gives a possible explanation as to why this might be:

(9) Umm it's probably of interest in the sense that I've, umm had strong bonds with somebody growing up who this would have been their time when they were living their life so the connection I've got through to that time period is not - it doesn't feel like history of no known people to who I am as a person because I'm probably a little down from that time period in terms of my life so it's of interest...

Later he again explains:

(9) ...and it gives you a different in, into that historical period because it's not that far removed, but it's far removed enough...

This seems to suggest that no.9's 'in' is his special connection to the past which is simply his connection to a person who represents the most distant past. Various mechanisms have been explored to try and account for this but some of the statements suggest that there may be elements of autobiographical memory involved. Tani, Peterson and Smorti (2014:254-55) suggest this type of memory is about the way personal meaning evolves from experiences which are constructed from interactions with others. Graci and Fivush (2017:489) discuss this way of forming memory in terms of narrative – the way memories are expressed linguistically shape self-identity and connect individuals to others. Thus, we construct autobiographical memories as a way of shaping our understanding of events. Baron and Bluck (2009) explain that autobiographical memory stories may play a role in self-definition, developing and

maintaining social bonds and directing future behaviour. Williams and Conway (2009:33) explain that such memory is constructed from episodic memory formed from recollections of life events and a conceptual, generic and schematic knowledge of personal history which constitutes autobiographical knowledge. These memories that locate us within socio-historical time, societies and social groups are the memories which define us. Williams and Conway (2009:38) go on to explain that autobiographical memories are mental constructions generated from our underlying knowledge base. Williams and Conway also discuss (pp.53,54) the way in which autobiographical memories intertwine the individual in their culture and time. Ahonen (2001:179) explains this in historical terms as a dynamic interaction with the collective memory, which explains one's interaction with the prevailing historical narrative. Manning, Denkova and Unterberger (2012:2) also describe a public semantic memory where memories are shared across individuals in a cultural community, which may also be involved in this kind of thinking. Thus, when the subjects of this study are commenting on interactions with their grandparents they may make comments which can demonstrate how such encounters have contributed to their own identity. No.11 shows clearly how she has developed an awareness of history through reflecting on strong social bonds:

(11) Umm I was thinking of my granddad, his dad was a prisoner in a Japanese war camp, yeah so he found all his diaries. It was only a couple of years ago and it went in the papers down there and everything and that kept coming into my head. When I was a kid I remember my granddad showing us all these, you know all these diary entries and it didn't particularly make me feel more sad or

more sort of connected or anything but that did keep popping up in my head thinking, wow - you know.

Later no.11 explains why she found it more challenging to relate to the cap badge of the soldier who had left the barracks which is now the university. This seemed to be because she felt less able to form a connection with a more geographically remote figure:

(11) I'm like not from round here but for the people that are from here I imagine it would because I don't feel any sense of self here, this is sort of where I come to uni' and go back. For me it was more like the interest and the emotion again, I was like wow this belonged to a person that took it from here. I didn't feel like, you know that probably wasn't going to be anyone along my line of the family so -.

Interviewer: *So, the distance of the place; actually you felt -.*

(11) Yeah, yeah and when you were saying umm, I can't remember, you kept saying that you'd got it from a village, it might have been that but it was before we knew that it was like, Belgium... in my head what if he's from the village I'm from in Leicester and I was thinking like that would be so amazing if I was from where I live, this tiny little random place but then because it was here I was thinking that I bet there were people here thinking that was amazing but you know I had no sort of emotional...

It is her words, 'Sense of self' that lead us to understanding of how these historical encounters may be actually playing a role in her own self-definition which seems to demonstrate a possible dimension of autobiographical memory as it was seen by Tani, Peterson and Smorti (2014:254-55) Graci and Fivush (2017:489), Baron and Bluck

(2009). In other words, the participant seems to be thinking about themselves in relation to the past and past historical figures who may make the past more knowable for them.

Salient features identified from Category D, *The student rethinking themselves as a being in time*' which arose from the literature were then compared to the data and the overarching theme Sense of self

Category D suggested that thoughts about the reality of past lives may prompt the participant to think about themselves in relation to those past lives. To do this, it was thought that they may refer to their own knowledge and experience of the world and particularly their own backgrounds. Table 4.4 shows links between Category D Thinking, students rethinking themselves as beings in time, and the theme, Sense of self which emerged from the data.

Reality An association with re-thinking and the authenticity of the past.
Chronology Thinking of themselves in relation to the subjective time in which they exist. Connecting to time via imagination and memory. Mentally projecting themselves into the past or making fluid movements in and out of the past. Thinking about themselves in relation to the historical figure. Understanding that the past encompasses themselves.

<p>Personal connections</p> <p>Connecting via important things to them i.e. through the oldest people they know – their grandparents.</p> <p>Associations between artefacts and grandparents.</p> <p>Insights via special bonds held with the past.</p> <p>Connections to previous experience and knowledge.</p>
<p>Memory</p> <p>Re-thinking their own personal identity.</p> <p>Autobiographical memory shapes the understanding of events.</p> <p>Autobiographical memory that helps us define ourselves in relation to others.</p>

Table 4.4 Links between Category D Thinking, students rethinking themselves as beings in time, and the theme, Sense of self which emerged from the data.

Table 4.4 illustrates ways in which students rethink themselves as beings in time, reflecting both Category D thinking derived from the literature and the theme Sense of self, which emerged from the data.

4.6 Further Dimensions of OHR

Throughout most of this analysis I have split the possible construction of the concept of Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR) into four overarching themes. These themes seemed to broadly align with the data:

- Perception of the historical figure.
- Sense of self.
- Understanding of reality.
- Pedagogical reasoning.

Figure 4.1 shows a modified version of the model of OHR based on the literature review (Figure 1.1). This was modified as a result of the data analysis. Model 2 incorporates overarching themes elicited from the interview data.

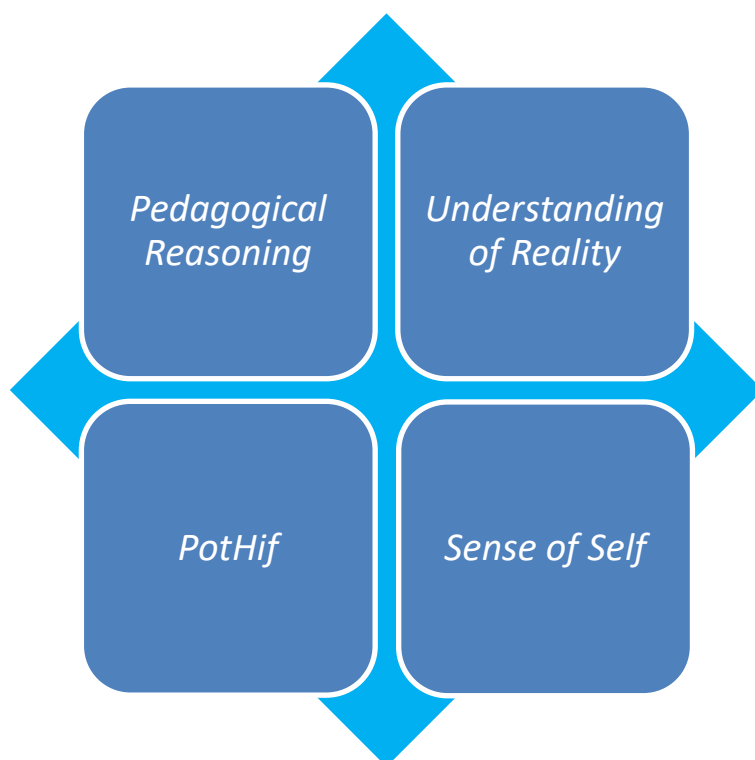
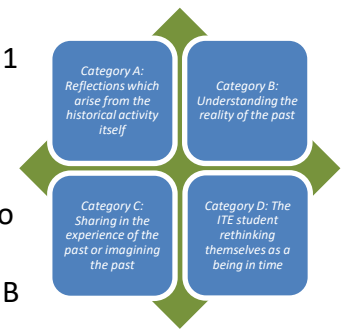


Figure 4.1. Model '2' incorporating the overarching themes from the data

Figure 4.1. has mapped the four overarching themes identified from the data onto model '1' (Figure 1.1) The original model '1' (Figure 1.1 repeated on the right) arose from the literature and proposed four categories of thought. Category A thinking was linked to the pedagogy of the historical teaching activity. Category B thinking was linked to an emerging understanding of the reality of the past. Category C thinking was linked to sharing the experience of the past through deploying various forms of empathy. Category D thinking was linked to the student themselves in relation to the past. In Model 2 each of the categories of thought identified in the literature review was modified to encompass the overarching themes identified from the interview data; *Pedagogical reasoning, Understanding of reality, Perceptions of the historical figure (PotHif) and a Sense of self.*



Whilst these seemed to represent a good alignment with the data from the literature it was felt that this model may not fully reflect the story told by the data. Therefore, two further questions were explored. Firstly, the data regarding the deployment of both psychological and historical empathy seems to be inconclusive. This may be because the student is thinking about the figure in both Ψ_e and HE terms concurrently. Is it, therefore, the case that during OHR these are broadly aligned? We may also ask whether this kind of thinking is linked to a student's historical maturity and what it tells us about their understanding of perspective.

Secondly, the theme 'Understanding reality' also seems to be a significant component of the themes, Sense of self and Perception of the historical figure. Does this, therefore, demonstrate that students are developing a consciousness of reality which

prompts them to think about past lives? We might also ask about the role of artefacts in forming this conception of reality.

The following sections considers each these questions in turn, with a view to refining model 2 further.

4.6.i The alignment between Ψ_e and HE.

The literature review discussed the work of Carril, Sánchez-Augustí and Miguel-Revilla (2017) who stated that they did not detect an alignment between HE and Ψ_e . However, the data in this study seems to demonstrate that it is difficult to separate the two dispositions during tasks which involve the use of material culture as evidence. Indeed, there was considerable evidence that the non-specialist students may be deploying Ψ_e alongside HE. For instance, in section 3.6.iii(c) I used the following statement by no.2 as evidence for the deployment of HE because she seemed to be demonstrating both a grasp of perspective and an awareness of how people can interpret historical material differently. However, her discussion of connecting to the figure through clothes and feelings may well also illustrate the deployment of Ψ_e :

(2) You can try and connect by what they are wearing and what like they might be feeling

Therefore, this may demonstrate that she was trying to gain insights into past behaviour and attempting to feel an affective connection to past lives that are part of the human disposition for Ψ_e , which is noted by psychologists such as Artinger et al. (2014), Zaki and Ochner (2012), and Singer et al., (2008), Singer (2013). In this sense, therefore, Ψ_e is often difficult to distinguish from HE, which is also about gaining insights into past lives through making cognitive and affective connections.

The reasons why my conclusion is different to that of Carril, Sánchez-Augustí and Miguel-Revilla (2017) may, however, need further explaining. Carril, Sánchez-Augustí and Miguel-Revilla stated that there was no detectable alignment between Ψ_e and HE when they were asking their students to think about the thoughts of Chamberlain prior to the onset of WWII. In this study, however, the data demonstrated that activity which makes the reality of past lives clear to the student may promote thinking which displays both HE and Ψ_e . A good example of this type of thinking is the somewhat 'concrete' reaction of no.4 as she discussed the second of the Victorian dresses. As the interviewer I had just asked no.4 why she winced when she first mentioned the dress:

(4) It must have hurt – it's shrinking your ribs and it's breaking your ribs.

This thinking may seem simplistic (rather akin to Lee and Shemilt's (2011:39) 'empathetic imaginings') but since this study is examining natural reasoning such a response may offer useful insights. It is possible that this statement demonstrates the deployment of both HE and Ψ_e . In terms of Ψ_e , no.4's reference to pain indicates that she is deploying her shared brain networks. This is a largely unconscious and automatic deployment of shared motor representations which can lead to a sense of familiarity and emotional connectedness with others (Ferrari 2014:299,300). This explains why she winced at the thought of wearing the dress. However, in terms of HE no.4's observation was based upon evidence (in so far as she was aware of it) and her thinking was directed toward uncovering the experience of a late Victorian woman. We might also imagine that, were no.4 to have been better informed, she may have demonstrated greater and more valid insights.

Indeed, the data I obtained seems to imply that there is considerable, detectable alignment between the two dispositions of psychological and Historical Empathy (HE)

within OHR during some tasks. Yet as mentioned above a number of studies (Shemilt, 1980, 1984; Lee, Dickenson and, Ashby 1997; Foster, 1999; Yeager, Foster and Maley, 1998; Colby, 2010; Pelligrino, Lee and D'Erizan's 2012; Perotta and Bohan, 2018) seem to run counter to this. These were studies which took an academically and cognitively mediated approach to examining HE which seemed either not to demonstrate Ψ_e or sought to minimise Ψ_e . They may have done this because they believed that engaging in affective Ψ_e can distort the perception of past lives because they were lived in a different dimension from our own (VanSledright 2001:58). However, the data in this study have revealed that the students are often very cautious as they deploy Ψ_e insights about past figures and frequently make statements that demonstrate that they appreciate that they cannot fully understand the experiences of the historical figure. For instance, the following was carefully explained by no.7:

(7) ...you can't physically go back to then, we can try to re-create it but we will never know exactly what it's like. So although there's like all the texts and different things and artefacts we can't physically know what a person was like unless we bring them back from the dead and are maybe like talking to them about what it was like, we can't - we don't know that we're getting everything specifically down to the minor details right, we can try but it'll never be the same.

No. 7 is displaying an element of cognitive Ψ_e known as Theory of Mind (ToM) (Marsh 2018:110-115). This is the domain of cognitive Ψ_e where the deployer demonstrates an awareness that the thinking of others may be different to their own. This thinking challenges the ideas of (Brophy and Allerman, 2003:108; VanSledright, 2001:58) about presentism and perspective. This contradiction suggests that a proper understanding

of the psychology of empathy may actually help to overcome some the problems that are thought to reside in HE.

4.6.ii Does OHR reflect historical maturity?

We may recall from Chapter 1 that Collingwood (1946:282-302) argued that through reading and understanding the work of Plato (p.301) and then re-arguing it for himself his thinking was not merely resembling Plato; it was Plato's. Retz (2015:214) had called this Collingwood's re-enactment doctrine and suggested that much of the thinking around HE as a discipline emanated from this. For instance, Lee and Shemilt (2011:47-48) discussed HE as a mechanism, where the student attempted to re-enact or imagine the historical actor's mind; an act of reasoning which they suggested, similarly to Seixas and Peck (2004:113), should be cognitive and based on evidence. This kind of evidential thinking is often applied to the analysis of written sources in a way which has been described by expert historians, as counter intuitive and detached (Weinberg 2007). Indeed, the psychologists Boyer and Wertsch (2009:220) also called such HE an unnatural form of thinking, which goes against the grain of our cognitive tendencies. Lee and Shemilt (2011:39) described HE which was not applied in this way as what they termed '*empathetic imaginings*.' Such '*imaginings*' have been described as a warm and affective counterbalance to cerebral engagement with historical evidence. Yet, I would argue that this empathetic excerpt from no.9's discussion about soldiers in a WWI photograph is not counter intuitive, contrary to our cognitive tendencies or evidence of the use of empathetic imagination.

(9) You would assume the different nations would have at times have rubbed shoulders you obviously what I'm saying would have known how prepared - we

saw images of Australian soldiers who looked like they were ready and up for it against ones that had been conscripted and looked like they were in somebody else's costume...

This statement is about the WWI photographs featuring soldiers of different nations. He is commenting on the apparent difference between Australian soldiers who appeared to be professionals and some Scottish soldiers who looked as if they may be volunteers. His comment '*Australian soldiers who looked like they were ready and up for it*' suggests that he was beginning to use his deductive imagination to think about the evidence (the photographs) in a way that is suggestive of the work of Collingwood (1946). Indeed, the words, '*up and ready for it*' suggest he is attempting to re-enact the soldiers' thoughts in a way which suggests he is considering the soldiers' feelings based on the evidence that he had seen rather than through a flight of fancy

To re-enact the thoughts of an historical figure, as Collingwood (1964:301) did, requires substantial knowledge, which is both contextual and source based. Any shortfall in this knowledge, as Collingwood (1946:24-243) suggested, will be made up for through using the deductive imagination which ties together what is known and fills the gaps with the historian's informed imagination. Therefore, during an activity such as that discussed by Lee, Dickenson and Ashby (1997) which uses HE to re-enact the thoughts of a figure such as Claudius from written sources, students will similarly have to apply their imaginations. However, the less knowledge the student historian possesses (or is available to them) the more the story must be made up through the use of their imagination. Consequently, when pushing a student to engage with re-enacting the thoughts of an historic figure such as Claudius it is inevitable the student will deploy their own imagination to make up for any shortfall in their knowledge.

Thus, since for most students their knowledge is only partial the role of their deductive imagination will be consequently greater – in other words applying HE may actually push them to engage in ‘empathetic imagining.’ However, it may be that through using evidence such as artefacts the student begins to apply insights into the lives of the historical figure that falls much more within their compass. For instance, much of the data in this study showed that students naturally limited their speculations about motive. No.10’s thoughts about the motives of WWI poets are well expressed and relate to his knowledge of English literature and the war poets which was revealed earlier during his interview.

(10) ...because so much of what they were writing about was about their own immediate experience and it's very much a catharsis - em the act of writing is an act of purging and an act of - if not necessarily healing because I can't imagine - you know I've never been in war - it's very hard to heal from those experiences - but certainly an act of reflection - and an act of -

However, the reader may also recall No.4’s speculation about the feelings of a WWI soldier who has thrown the hand-grenade recovered from the battlefield at Ypres:

(4) Because he has to be the one throwing it and he's responsible for all them deaths. I feel sorry for him. I know some people have died or been injured but he'd have that guilt and the responsibility and that with him until he died.

On the face of it these comments may seem to constitute the kind of ‘*empathetic imaginings*’ worried about by Lee and Shemilt (2011:39). Indeed, it is notable that the two statements given above vary considerably in tone and that the second seems to demonstrate significantly less mature reasoning than the first. However, similarly to no.10, no.4 is also drawing upon her own background knowledge and engaging in

surprisingly mature reasoning about the actions of a WWI soldier. This became apparent when she made it clear why she thought that the soldier throwing the grenade would have felt guilt and responsibility for doing it:

(4) ... when you're a soldier it always stays with yer what you've seen and what you've heard and stuff.

Interviewer. *So, do you know about soldiers' lives from other places then?*

(4) Yes - Like PTSD and stuff. A lot of soldiers, I know a soldier who suffers from PTSD. I know a couple of soldiers actually, and they struggle with day to day life now. Like one of them can't even go into the sea because it reminds him - of the stuff that he's seen and he's experienced and stuff.

The data shows that the reasoning of the students matched their historical maturity.

The thinking that the students express seems often to be limited by their lack of contextual knowledge and, therefore, the kind of speculations mooted by Collingwood (1946) is beyond most of their abilities. However, the data demonstrated that many of the students appeared to limit their own speculations because they have tacit awareness of their lack of historical knowledge. Indeed, it was also notable from the data that the students would make frequent observations that they were aware that it was difficult to make speculations about past lives. For example, these are no.7's thoughts:

(7) You can like not imagine, because obviously you're not there and you can't put yourself in their time but you can start to think about the hardships...

Like, no.s 3,5, 7,8,9,10 and 11 No.2 was also careful to make a similar observation.

(2) ... and you kind of look into the story but obviously you don't necessarily know the story or the characters that are in there

The data may, therefore, suggest that students can naturally limit their own use of the historical imagination. This natural limitation may occur because of an empathetic mechanism termed Theory of Mind (ToM). This kind of thinking may suggest that it is natural for non-specialists to display historical maturity when thinking about past lives.

How does Theory of Mind demonstrate a link between Ψ_e and historical maturity?

Both the data and the literature have shown that the deployment of Ψ_e as described by Christov-More et al. (2014), Artinger et al. (2014), Zaki and Ochner (2012) Singer et al., (2008) and Singer (2013) seems to form a natural part of a student's thinking during their encounter with past lives. The data and reading also supports the conclusion that another natural part of this thinking is to know that the historical figure may have thought differently to them (Christov-Moore et al., 2014:604-7; Marsh, 2018:110-115). Indeed, thinking about differences between individuals may be a natural way of thinking about others because psychological empathy (Ψ_e) is regarded an isomorphic representation of another's state (Preckel, Kanske and Singer 2018:1).

The data seem to demonstrate that Ψ_e can be directed towards an historical figure. Psychological empathy (Ψ_e) is, therefore, not dependent upon reciprocity. In thinking about this we may recall (as mentioned in Chapter 1) that humans seem to also be able to imagine or experience an encounter which did not happen to them Singer et al., (2008:782) and they can empathise with absent others Christov-Moore et al. (2014:604-7). We can also engage in Ψ_e through reading written materials (Marsh 2018).

The data also appear to support the idea that, in deploying Ψ_e , the participant was naturally thinking about difference. Indeed, Ψ_e contains a mechanism to encompass the fact that we all inhabit different temporal and physical spaces from the people we encounter. This mechanism also allows us to understand that we are a product of different lives and experiences. This is something that we naturally understand – people are different and may have reactions to events different from our own. This is a dimension of experience that Ψ_e encompasses through Theory of Mind (ToM), which is the self-other distinction or the ability to understand that other's mental states, beliefs, intents, desires, intentions and perspectives are different to one's own (Baker, 2014:46,47). It is Theory of Mind (ToM) therefore, that yields abstract propositional knowledge about another's state. ToM is often equated with cognitive Ψ_e . Preckel, Kanske and Singer (2018) and Rot and Hogenelst (2014), Zaki, Bolger and Ochsner (2008) and Brown et al. (2017:952) explain that ToM is more directed to understanding mental states such as knowledge, beliefs and desires whilst the cognitive dimension of Ψ_e is more directed towards understanding the feelings of the other. No.11 seems to demonstrate that in the following statement she is attempting to think about the mental state (and the emotions) of a past figure and although she is trying to '*read their emotions*' she knows she cannot do this.

(11) ...I think it's just, it's, you're forced with pictures and people's faces, you're forced into thinking, I've got, you know a cousin that age or a son that age or - you know with words you can sort of by-pass it but when you've got a face in front of you I think it's you know, you can't stop looking at it and you see different things and then especially when they're looking at the camera and you see their eyes. I think it's really, it just - you just need hours to look at that

picture. And I think it's the eye contact, as well, with the camera, you know trying to sort of read their emotions but, you can't, you can't read their emotions.

Her statement suggests that Ψ_e is a powerful (she even uses the word '*forced*') driver for her in thinking about past lives. Indeed, this demonstrates a strong willingness to see the world from other perspectives, something described by Brown et al. (2017:952). However, she is also displaying a consciousness of the limits of this ability, which is a facet of Theory of Mind (ToM) (Baker 2014:46,47). Thus, it seems that cognitive Ψ_e , and ToM as a facet of Ψ_e , may enable no.11 and the other students to gain some insights, as she mentalizes on the possible feelings of an historical figure. However, the data also demonstrated that the student often appeared to be aware that it may not be possible to understand the emotions of that past person. Thus, this implicit understanding of the limits of their ability to think about the actions and motives of past figures seems to demonstrate a greater historical maturity on the part of non-specialist history students than has been previously thought. This may mean that it is necessary to think about how this historical maturity can be applied to the teaching of children as these non-specialists are being trained to do. Applying this kind of thinking may lead to a natural avoidance of speculative and fantasy driven methodologies for viewing past lives such as '*writing diary entries as if they were...*'

4.6.iii Do students' developing consciousness of the reality of the past suggest that this leads them to think about past lives, through artefacts?

The data seem to support the idea that the artefacts make the past knowable for the students and may provide strong evidence that connections to past lives can be

prompted by artefacts. In this example participant No.3 is discussing the Neolithic axe and a gives sense of connection to the experience of the person who constructed it:

(3)... it makes you consider where how it was made and the time and the effort that went into it and then what they would have used it for ...

Similarly, no. 5's sentiment demonstrated a mental accommodation of another's presence that is achieved through an artefact:

(5)... I'd feel like the real people are in the pictures...

Like no.5 a number of participants made comments which demonstrated how a past figure could emerge through the artefacts - the past appears to emerge to the student when they can bypass the language used about the past and come face to face with something that prompts them towards thinking about its reality. No. 3 may have been saying this when she remarked:

(3)... the craftsmanship on the axe actually it means that you can you know history for me.

No.3's sentiments echoed findings by Hafner (2013:355,356) when she discussed artefacts as sites of human meaning-making. What she means is that artefacts are products of mental representations, such as freedom and faith and when a person comes into contact with them they can still elicit thoughts, feelings and imaginations related to such concepts. As Blythe (2006:29) similarly demonstrates artefacts can, thus, provide access to feelings that are normally inaccessible and yet still relevant. Similarly, in Chapter 1 we noted the words of Cronis (2015:180-8), who reported that artefacts can evoke the presence of the past, which allows the viewer to enter, for a moment, into the life lived in the past. These are similar ideas to those of Barton and

Levstik (2013:8) who identified what they term identification stance, in which students might be asked to identify with an element of the past. For example, No.2 gave a sense of a desire to identify with the past that arose through the artefacts. However, she contextualises this desire by explaining that, whilst the artefact allows her a glimpse of the past, what she can see of it is limited:

(2) ...Erm, I do like replicas but the actual real thing I go like this is old, this is and you kind of look into the story but obviously you don't necessarily know the story...

How it may be possible link thoughts about reality to sharing in the experience of the past.

As noted above it is possible that the artefact may accrue a reality which allows for the perception of past lives as being real. In exploring why this may happen we might think of Sartre's first 'purpose' that *the world is the way it is because our body is the way it is*' which was noted by Catalano (2005:19). This is a useful idea in reflecting the notion that in conceiving a 'psychology of history' we cannot ignore our own biology. It helps us to see that an historical artefact is a tool for thinking about history because many artefacts make it clear that people in the past had the same bodies and the same needs as we do – thus they are intimate examples from the past. This makes even more sense if we reflect on the work of Koopman (2015) who pointed out that the past needs to acquire meaning for its structure to interact with our own humanity. This constitutes a relationship to our own biology – whereby the artefact can be portrayed in its human sphere. No.10 demonstrates his thinking about the physicality of the war. As before his thinking is clearly complex and linked to other knowledge:

(10) I think their size, I think was really quite erm, stark and quite poignant, I mean... they are small but even physically they are weighty – you can, if you hold them and you can feel the heft and I think there is a certain kind of horror to the fact that something so small does carry such weight and such speed and such acceleration that causes such force and such trauma especially with such things like the bullets and the shrapnel... and then moving onto the kind of bigger fragments, the shell fragments, you do get a sense of their age, you get a sense of the rust and you get a sense of time as well.

No.1's seems to indicate that she is sharing in the experience of the past in a much simpler way. She is thinking about her own experience of handling a coin to that of a Roman:

(1) Just because it's the most relevant thing, we've got coins and they haven't changed massively and you can still see a difference and if they've changed and what meaning like is behind them...

Making a comparison with past lives may also be an indication that the student is thinking about themselves in relation to the past. This may be an indication that they have intuited that the person who inhabited the past is in some way similar to themselves. No.4 demonstrates that such a comparison can be as simple as spotting an artefact such as a Roman dice has not changed:

(4) It must have been a very good idea because we're still using it nowadays to play games, to count...

This is a way in which the participants can share in the experience of the past. Many of the participants in my research also indicated that they had a strong desire to view authentic artefacts and this may indicate that experience and reality are connected or

confirmed through the artefacts. Gadaoua (2014:328) questions whether such an interaction is afforded by the physicality of the artefact because, as she observes, the physical and mental worlds are not divided. Such contact, therefore, mirrors the way people interact with the physicality of the artefacts. What she meant by this is that people interact with the physicality of the environment and not with mental representations of it. For instance, some participants indicated that they had sophisticated ideas about reality in that they discriminated between what was real and what was not. Some indicated that for them film, re-enactment and replicas do not necessarily lead to the same experience of the past. No.5, for instance, was not quite sure why but she preferred a real photograph to a high-quality copy of the original work of the Victorian photographer Frank Meadow-Sutcliffe (even though the copy was arguably a much better photograph):

(5) Yes, definitely I think it's just more interesting to look at – if it's just a copy it's not very - I don't know really why it's just -.

She later went on to explain that an authentic artefact made the past real:

(5) I quite like story but then actually seeing the things makes it real compared to just hearing the story and it being just a story, just always makes it look real do you know what I mean?

What she seemed to be saying was that the artefacts validated the story she was hearing, as Gadaoua (2014:328) had suggested. It was almost as if she was making the case that she needed a reference point as access to the past as Hafner (2013:355,356) and Cronis (2015:180-8) had suggested.

It seemed also to be important that the artefact was original as opposed to a replica.

The participants often seemed to express a preference for original artefacts even when

they were in a worse condition than replicas. This is no.6 commenting on the difference between the two sets of photographs:

(6) It doesn't, doesn't feel quite as real I don't think as holding the actual real live picture that was taken...

The participants also gave a sense that the imperfections on the artefacts themselves conferred upon them a special status. This was pointed out by No.8:

(8) Seeing the shrapnel, seeing it rusted, seeing it old and knowing where it's from, I found gained my attention more I think.

The data leads us to speculate that the historical figure may emerge for the non-specialist student when they are able to make sense of evidence that presents the reality of their lives. The evidence seems to suggest that students use the evidence as a reference point that helps them to decode the past and begin to imagine and identify with historical lives.

4.6.iv Evoking reality through 'artefacts' as a reference point

Reflecting on my own experience has brought me to the realization that providing a reference point to validate the past may be done in different ways with different groups. For example, I used an example concerning a mosquito to provide an example concerning the reality of medicine during the Roman period with my specialist history students. This was because once within our consciousness, a mosquito provides an opportunity for both engaging in narrative and deploying a sense that life in the past had similar challenges to our own. The example was as follows:

In the late second early third century a possible tutor and savant to the sons of the Roman emperor Severus named Quintus Serenus/Sammonicus advised how those

suffering from marsh fever (*hemitritaios* (ancient Greek) malaria) might rid themselves of the disease partly through the inscribing of a papyrus with the magic word matrix 'abracadabra' which was then tied to the neck. Q. Serenus, *Liber Medicinalis* 51. The Romans did not know that the mosquito spread malaria.

In the etiology of this phrase, 'abracadabra', and our reflection on mosquitoes it is possible to see the power of reference points for the participants that can lead to a shared experience. In my research I have found that the participants often seemed to demonstrate that they are hunting for such a reference point. This may be what no.3 who has been looking at the butchery marks on the mammoth vertebrae is expressing when she explains:

(3) That makes it a bit more interesting doesn't it because you've got the connection to man and you know survival or that kind of thing I suppose you want more story actually, you want something that you can connect to.

The research is indicating that it may be possible that some artefacts can become a reference point whilst others remain abstract in nature for the emergent learner. In other words when no.4 said, 'Yes I think it does tell a lot of stories' she may have meant that the artefact had acquired meaning and she was beginning to adapt her own thinking to connect to its reality.

Thus, we are beginning to see that the emergent learners may be using their own experiences to help them both understand, connect to and construct the reality of the past. In other words, this may not be so different to Collingwood's (1946:239) words about using one's own experience of the world to understand and check the reliability of past accounts. Also, it falls in line with Collingwood's (1946:217-217 and 240-243) thinking about the historian's imaginative deduction being based upon making links

between disparate facts to understand and create a picture of an historical event. These students are clearly showing that they are attempting to build a conception of the reality of past lives in relation to the narrative (story) they have encountered and in accordance with their own much more limited understanding of the past. This may also be what no.8 is referring to when he tries to explain the process of engagement. He is saying that an artefact can hold you for a moment and then prompt you to give the past more thought:

(8) I think it's things that (missing word) that get you to try and imagine what it was like or what they might have been used for or I don't know really there's some things that hold you in for longer and you give it more thought -.

Thus, we may speculate that the historical figure may emerge for the non-specialist student when they are able to make sense of evidence that presents the reality of their lives. This evidence can make sense to the student if they can gain a reference point that gives them a chance to pause for thought. It is this moment of thought that helps them to decode the past and begin to imagine and identify with historical lives. In imagining and identifying with past lives they may deploy both Ψ_e and HE. They may also attempt to share in the experience of the past without deploying either of the empathetic dispositions.

4.6.v Seeing the reality of a past figure through artefacts.

A number of the students made statements which demonstrated how the artefacts led them to connect to the reality of the past. For example, no.10 explains rather succinctly that artefacts can promote very real thoughts about the past:

(10) Yes, the moment you've, you've got a bullet or shrapnel in your hand it suddenly locates it with real physical toll.

No. 3 put the idea of connecting to the past through artefacts equally simply when she was asked why she had chosen to talk about a particular Celtic coin:

(3) Umm yeah. But also, you can connect to it because it's for real, yeah.

Therefore, we might ask can an artefact stimulate a different kind of thinking about past lives being real which isn't either Ψ e or HE? Benjamin (1983) puts forward the idea of an aura.

'Trace and aura. The trace is an emergence of a proximity howsoever far away/long ago may be the event during which it had been left. The aura is the emergence of a remoteness howsoever close it be to the thing that generates it. In the trace we get hold of the thing/artefact/past; in the aura the thing/artefact/past comes over us/it takes possession of us.' Trans. Christian Mathis.

Of course, in this sense the artefact represents two things. Of itself it represents a fragment of actual past as it was lived but it also forms a link with the contextual narrative of the time in which it existed. The context applied to the artefact may highlight its relevance to both the 'grand central narrative' of history, the march of time, the monarch, politics and the economy etc. The context will also, however, apply to real lives as lived – the soldier who fought in a WWI trench and the Victorian lady who did her washing using lant or lye (a substance made of urine and ash). We might, therefore, speculate that the artefact only begins to make sense when it is applied to the context of when it existed, in effect when the participant is able to begin to make sense of the 'story'. However, this does not need to be what we might term a

sophisticated multi-level connection and we do not get a sense that the student needs to fully understand the story before reflecting upon it. As an example, this is the second statement that No.3 made about the Neolithic axe. In this she appears to be beginning to make sense of the period through her examination of the axe. This is because she has linked the evident craftsmanship to the intelligence of the person who made it and the purpose it will serve in their life:

(3) There wasn't always a sense of intelligence actually from history and when I see this you know, I like, I think umm there isn't a greater sign of intelligence than craftsmanship.

Interviewer: *That's very interesting.*

(3) You know if you can make something that you can wield and you can use then you can survive.

Some of the participants gave the impression that they were aware they were engaging with history without fully understanding the historical narrative. It was almost as if seeing the artefact and gaining an impression of a distant person gave them an entry point into history. No.3 begins to convey a sense of this when she explains 'so it's very hard to put it together so you know what I mean so it's interesting to see exactly what fits.' In other words, she may be explaining that history did not make much sense to her at school but that the axe has given her a sense of its connection to the reality of the past:

(3) ... History is so fractured in (a) sense the way we learn it at school. You know we learn about specific areas at times so it's very hard to put it together so, you know what I mean, so it's interesting to see exactly what fits.

No.3's observation that *'History is so fractured in the way we learn it at school.'* may indicate that she is not fully aware of the connecting narrative of history. Hilary Mantell in giving the Radio 4 Reith Lectures 13th June 2017 said that history is what is left when time has run through the sieve. What she meant was that the historical narrative is a tiny representation of a vast history, it is the few collected grains of sand that have been used to form the story of the past. What no.3's observation may demonstrate is that through engaging with an artefact that has no status as an historic object (such as the crown jewels or H.M.S Victory) she is understanding that the period was real but that she is not yet able to form a web of formal connections around it. In other words, through engaging with an artefact that has not been collected in Hilary Mantell's sieve history has become a little more accessible. This is a reflection of the kind of shift between grand narratives and small narratives thought about by Ahonen (2001:181).

4.7 Constructing a model of OHR

4.7.i Towards the model of OHR

From the detailed analysis of the data in chapter 3, which was based on grounded theory and thematic analysis, four overarching themes emerged as a basis for constructing a new concept, OHR. Two of the themes were in part unexpected. A careful use of thematic analysis then allowed the themes to be triangulated and explored further. The overarching themes were:

- Pedagogical reasoning.
- Understanding of reality.

- Perception of the historical figure.
- Sense of self.

Careful analysis allowed the following conclusions to be reached. There was support for the 4 overarching themes: Pedagogical reasoning; Understanding of reality; Perception of the historical figure; and Sense of self. Pedagogical reasoning was an expected theme but had not been previously explored in the literature, it was also a theme which seemed, contrary to early expectations, to be a significant component of OHR. Understanding of reality was an expected theme but unexpected reasoning about this theme was discovered in the data. Understanding of reality also appeared to be strongly connected to the other themes. Perception of the historical figure was an expected theme. This was the theme which encompassed the deployment of both types of empathy as well as imaginative thinking about past lives. Sense of self was a theme discovered in the data and there was limited previous research into this area although it did seem to be linked to autobiographical memory.

There was evidence for thinking that during OHR the student develops a consciousness of reality that prompts them to think about past lives. There was also evidence that when they think about the historical figure Ψ_e and HE are broadly aligned. Further analysis of the data has revealed that student thinking about the past can be tentative – they are cautious in their speculations and their caution may be linked to their understanding that their contextual knowledge is limited. It may also be linked to their deployment of Theory of Mind (ToM) as an element of Ψ_e . The students express frequent doubts that they can understand the past figure.

The examination of the data in chapters 3 and 4 has led to clearer ideas about what may constitute OHR. It has provided an explanation of the possible relationship between the four identified categories and the themes that arose from the data. Further careful analysis of the overarching themes seemed to show that there was a number of connections between them. For instance, the theme Understanding of reality appeared to be strongly connected to the themes, Sense of self and Perception of the historical figure. This suggested that the theme Understanding of reality was a very strong component of OHR.

A number of other factors concerned with the process of relating to the past were also explored. For instance, the theme, Sense of self was what students chose to talk about and was discovered in the data – i.e. it was not expected from the literature review. This is important because it suggested that the students had made a link between the reality of the past and their own autobiographical memory. This was evidence of the students making a link between themselves and the past in a natural way.

Pedagogical reasoning was identified as Category A during the Literature Review. We may speculate that pedagogical reasoning is important within OHR because it was a significant component of the data. During Pedagogical reasoning students seemed to express thoughts which demonstrated an awareness that they were engaging with the authenticity of the past. However, their ideas were sometimes expressed using a limited vocabulary which may also suggest that it is easy to underestimate their ability to think through complex ideas about past lives and the context in which they were lived. Overall this category seemed to demonstrate that the students were thinking about the process by which they had gained an emerging consciousness of the past.

Category B was re-defined as Understanding of reality as a result of the thematic analysis. The theme seemed to show that for the students a consciousness of the reality of the past was very important. It was significant that teaching through the use of artefacts led to this thinking. Whilst it had been suggested in Chapter 1 that the students may be thinking about the reality of the past during the literature review it emerged from the data as a much stronger category than had been previously been thought. The fact that the comments were largely unprompted also demonstrated that it was natural for the students to think about the reality of the past.

Any description of OHR may be most effective, therefore, if thought is given to the way in which artefacts function as a device for prompting thoughts about the reality of past lives. Artefacts appeared to be central to the concept because whilst their function may be ambiguous (we cannot really say what they do) and replaceable (something else may do the job as well as they can) the data suggested that they function as the device that makes the past knowable for the student. Reality through artefacts was suggested by the data as an opportunity to intimately view past lives in a way that transcends the requirements for historical knowledge and academic vocabulary. This is because the material culture appears to be connected to a reality that allows the participant to have partial access to the experience of the historical figure. Once students have achieved this connection to the past it may be possible for them to encompass the reality of a past life into their own thinking. Therefore, whilst role of artefacts has been difficult to define we may speculate that the understanding of reality that arises through being in contact with artefacts is a mental achievement. They seem to serve as a catalyst rather than a modifier of thoughts about the past. They seem to give ideas such as the perception that people in the past had similar

needs to the student. They also seem to confer ideas about the authenticity of the history that being taught and to make the student think about what they often seem to term, 'the story of the past.' Therefore, they may be an important tool for promoting OHR and thereby HE because they seem to make the experience of the teaching sufficiently rich for the student to gain insights into the past. In other words, the artefacts serve a purpose in terms of making the past knowable to the student. There was some support for this view of the role of artefacts from the field of museology. Artefacts (or some types of evidence) may make it apparent that people in the past existed, for as Koopman (2015) and Busch (2011) had demonstrated, the past is manifested by evidence. Cronis (2015:187-188) had also explained that artefacts evoke the presence of the past through the imagination and allow the viewer to enter, just a little, into the life lived in the past. Bucciantini (2009:4-6) had also discussed how artefacts encompass their own stories and confer authenticity on those stories. This understanding of the reality of the past may, therefore, be a cornerstone of OHR.

This unexpected result of this work related to mechanisms which allow the participants to locate themselves in relation to the past through thinking about a past that encompasses themselves and what they often termed the 'story' of the past.

The data analysis also revealed that family and familiar places were unexpected themes which students spontaneously chose to talk about when discussing the artefacts. In other words, the students appeared naturally to connect with the past. In doing this they may be thinking back to their own most significant contacts with the past. This unexpected thinking was often about grandparents but also arose through an association between artefacts and their grandparents. The thinking appeared to be

related to semantic and autobiographical memory. This is a memory mechanism which allowed the student to link their thoughts about the historical figures to semantic memory (which is linked to general knowledge) public semantic knowledge (which is related to an accrual of cultural memories) and autobiographic memory (which is related to personal and contextualised memories) (Manning, Denkova and Unterberger, 2013:1-2).

These themes which demonstrated students were making links with their own family were not found significantly in the literature review but were discovered in the data analysis. This is an important finding because it shows *how* students accessed talk about the past, in a natural way, as real and connected to them. The data also revealed the effect of artefacts as catalysts for such thinking about the past by making links to things which were familiar to them. This led them to discuss people in the past in the sophisticated ways conceptualised in the themes, Sense of self and, Perceptions of the historical figure.

The theme Perception of the historical figure emerged from Category C: During this type of thinking the historical figure seemed to take place when students were able to make sense of evidence that presented the reality of their lives. It was the mode of thought that helped them to decode the past and begin to imagine and identify with historical lives. In imagining and identifying with past lives they appeared to deploy both Ψe and HE. I labelled this mode of thought Perception of the historical figure because this was where the student engaged with thinking about the historical figure themselves. They seemed to be able to do this in several ways. They appeared to be able to imagine them or more accurately 'see them there' i.e. envisage them in their

historical setting. They also appeared to engage in the different forms of empathy and, for instance, align with their possible emotions or think about their motives. These forms of empathy appeared to be consistent with both the domains of psychological and historical empathy (Ψ_e and HE). The students also appeared to demonstrate an instinctive grasp of the Theory of Mind (ToM) in that they demonstrated an awareness of the fact that they cannot fully grasp the experience of the historical other. It was also striking that there seemed to be relatively little desire to engage in fantasising about the figures or attempts to 'see into their minds.'

4.7.ii Modelling Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR).

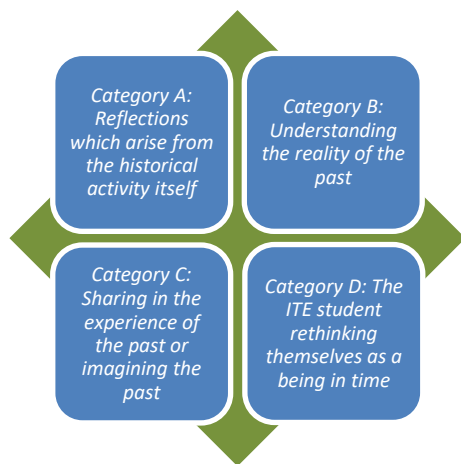
The historical figure appears to emerge for the student through teaching and evidence that prompts thoughts about the reality of their lives. The student then begins to think about the figure in terms which seem remarkably bi-directional. They assume this bi-directional complexion because they can deploy empathy which is both psychological and historical to think about the historical figure in human terms. The bi-directional nature of this interaction can arise because the student can (for example) be moved by the plight of the historical figure. The student can also deploy their imaginations to think about an historical figure in a way which does not involve the deployment of empathy.

Another complex bi-directional interaction that students may experience as they think about the reality of the life of the historical figure is to do with autobiographical and semantic memory. This is where we as humans encompass the experiences of those we encounter to form our own conception of ourselves as a being in culture. Thus, as they encounter past figures the student appears to engage their own autobiographical

memories and begin to think about their own inter-relationship with the historical period.

Finally, it is notable that the students appear to have a remarkably proximate relationship with the historical figures they encounter. They demonstrate this by making frequent comments that demonstrate an awareness of the fact that they cannot really fully appreciate what it was like to have lived in the past.

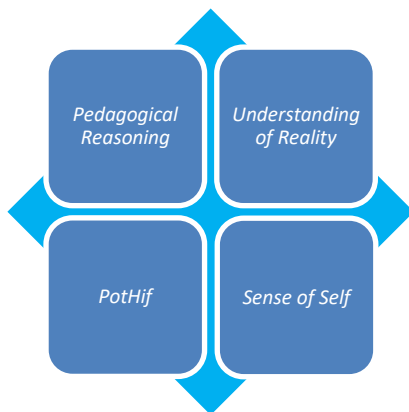
This has led to the creation of model '3' as a way to more fully explain the data than was reflected in model '2.' This model is a reconstruction of models '1' which arose from the literature and model '2' which arose from the data. The original model of OHR arose from the literature and proposed that four categories of thought may emerge from teaching students about past historical lives. This was termed Model '1' (figure 1.1 p.102).



In model '1' it was proposed that an encounter with teaching about past lives would prompt students to think about the pedagogy of the historical teaching activity, this was termed category A thinking. This would also lead to an emerging understanding of the reality of the past and this was termed category B thinking. Successful teaching

would also prompt the student to share in the experience of the past through deploying various forms of empathy, this was termed category C thinking. Finally, the student would also begin to see themselves in relation to time and this was termed category D thinking.

Model '2' incorporated the overarching themes which were identified from the data and replaced those suggested by model '1'.



In model '2' (figure 4.1. p.246) each of the categories of thought was modified to encompass the overarching themes identified from the data. This strengthened the role of the theme, *Understanding of reality*. It also allowed for a wider conception of the range of thought that constituted the theme, *Perceptions of the historical figure, (PotHif)*. Finally, it allowed for the identification that a *Sense of self* in relation to time and past lives would develop as a result of the teaching.

However, neither of these models seemed to provide a sufficient explanation for the way in which *Perceptions of the historical figure, (PotHif)*, and *Sense of self* arose as a result of the student's *Pedagogical Reasoning* or their *Understanding of reality*. The models also did not appear to reflect the ideas around the students' understanding of perspective which had emerged from the data. Therefore, model '3' (Figure 4.2) has

been developed as a final refinement of OHR. This model seems to offer a better explanation of the relationships between the different dimensions of the student's thinking.

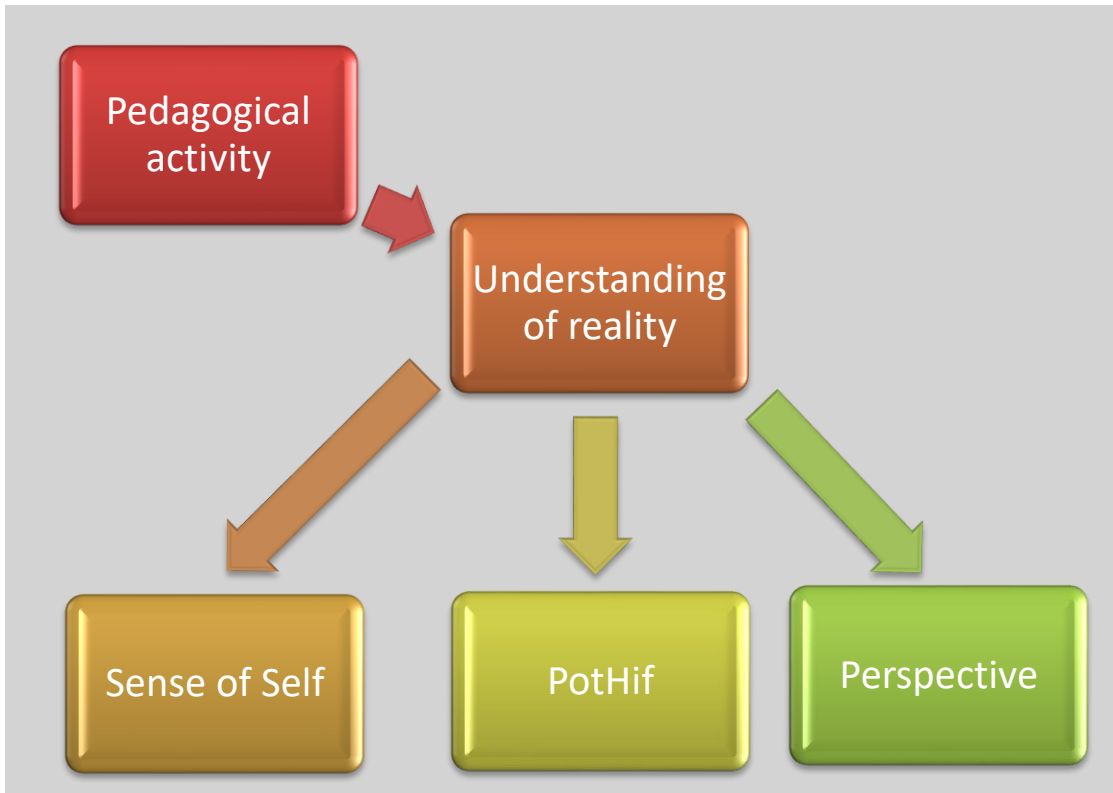


Figure 4.2 Model 3. Final representation of OHR arising from the data.

Figure 4.2 is a representation of OHR based upon the data analyses. Model '3' is different to models '1' and '2' in that it has incorporated the idea that pedagogical activity can lead to organic thinking about past lives that is enhanced and reinforced by an understanding of the reality of past lives. This model has also incorporated the idea that one of the outcomes of this thinking is a natural awareness of perspective. Therefore, model '3' has reflected a strong idea from the data. This is the thinking that the use of artefacts as evidence during teaching can lead to students forming ideas

about past lives. This is because they appear to promote thinking about how they connect to what the students often termed the 'story' of the past. The term 'story' appeared to be linked to their understanding of the reality of the past. This connection then leads to the three natural ways to think about past lives. These are through a *Sense of self*, the possibility of *Perceptions of the historical figure (PotHif)* and a sense of *perspective*.

These may be important considerations for planning teaching about past lives. This is because it appears that an understanding of the reality of the past is linked to the student forming ideas about past figures which are not, primarily, based upon imagination. This may also convey an idea that affective and imaginative strategies are less effective in engaging pupils with thinking about past lives than those which promote a sense of their reality (such as activities using artefacts). The model also conveys the idea that a significant component of OHR involves the student making a consideration of themselves in relation to the past. Finally, the model also conveys the idea that the students acquire a sense of perspective in relation to the past lives they encounter.

Therefore, this model may demonstrate that conveying a sense of the reality of the past may be a more important component of teaching than past HE strategies which have sought to promote imaginative thinking about past lives.

4.8 Conclusion

To conclude, this study seems to represent the first stage in providing evidence of valid ways in which non-specialist history students (who are training to be generalist primary school teachers and have limited historical knowledge), can motivate their

own (and consequently their school pupils') interest in history by understanding how they naturally think about the continuum of the past and engage with the reality of past lives.

Chapter 5

Implications of the Study for practice and further research

Introduction

The model of OHR which was suggested by the data explored Chapter 4 may be helpful in reforming some ideas about Historical Empathy (HE). This is because HE seemed previously to be composed of a set of contradictory ideas. These ideas were contradictory because some appeared to be natural, and mirror natural thinking whilst others were deemed to be counter-intuitive. Forming ideas about natural thinking during OHR has, therefore, allowed for a better view of how psychological empathy (Ψ_e) and Theory of Mind (ToM) may be involved in thinking about past lives. This, in turn may lead to a better understanding of how students think during HE and may allow for some of its contradictions to be resolved. For example, data demonstrating Theory of Mind (ToM) has allowed us to understand that perspective (one of the biggest problems for HE) may not be a problem because students may naturally limit their speculations about past lives. This in turn appears to make it clear that the student's natural thinking about past lives may be more sophisticated than has previously been realized.

OHR may also have led to a greater understanding of how other dimensions of empathy may form part of a student's thinking about past lives during HE. For instance, the model of OHR proposed in Chapter 4 appears to make it clear that students engage naturally with thinking about past lives when faced with teaching that makes it clear that they were real. This model of OHR may, therefore, affirm that it is particularly important to think about how students can be prompted to think about the reality of

past lives through evidence. Thinking about the past in relation to evidence is one of the central tenets of HE. The use of artefacts as evidence may be important because they appear to help students make links with the reality of the past.

Finally, the model of OHR outlined in Chapter 4 demonstrated that students also appear to engage in making links to past figures through thinking about their own families. This may be useful in understanding why history matters to students.

5.1 Empathy and Perceptions of the historical figure

The data suggested that it is natural to engage with thinking about past lives. It also seemed to suggest that it may be natural to deploy empathy in both psychological and historical terms when thinking about those past lives. What is meant by this was that the deployment of empathy may lead a student to natural thoughts about shared experiences and the building of affective connections with past figures. This may mean that it is not necessary to develop teaching strategies which deliberately promote empathy as the students will automatically engage with past lives where their reality is apparent. The data also showed that it may also be natural to muse about the thoughts and ideas of those figures. However, importantly it was noted that in deploying Ψ e and HE when thinking about past lives it also appeared to be natural for the students to demonstrate an awareness of perspective. This meant that the students demonstrated an understanding that past lives were different and that they may not be able to see into past minds.

5.2 Perspective

The initial teaching during this project yielded a narrow opportunity to contextualize the historical periods presented to the students. Indeed, as the courses led to QTS status in primary education this reflected the kinds of contextual knowledge presented during non-specialist teaching such as in a primary school. Therefore, it was interesting that despite the limited contexts the students were able to demonstrate OHR that did not often extend to imaginative speculation. In other words, the students appeared to demonstrate a self-limitation of their attempts to think about past historical lives that reflected their own levels of knowledge. This may be important as it is possible that this demonstrates that criticisms of HE no longer apply because of the barriers of contextual knowledge. In other words, teachers do not need to actively plan for empathetic teaching or create speculative empathy tasks because students will naturally engage in the deployment of all types of empathy whilst at the same time limiting their speculations because they naturally understand they cannot really see into past minds.

These data appear not to deny the importance of using a disciplinary approach such as the progressive forms of Historical Empathy (HE) to find out about the past. This is because HE depends upon interpreting evidence to think about past lives and this research has demonstrated this can be achieved through artefacts. Understanding how students may deploy Organic Historical Reasoning (OHR) during HE, therefore, allows us to understand that evidence and especially artefacts, can encourage students to see the past as having really happened. This understanding of the reality of the past appears to enhance the quality of HE though students taking a more realistic view of those past lives.

5.3 Understanding reality

This research appeared to demonstrate that an understanding of reality enhanced student thinking about past lives. This may mean that in planning instructional activities teachers may need to consider how they are going to demonstrate the reality of past lives.

Concerning a perception of reality this research appeared to demonstrate that the nature of the evidence that is used to teach students about past lives must be carefully considered.

5.5 How may students be best taught about past historical lives through the use of evidence?

The data suggested that when evidence has been applied to the historical context the students were able to successfully think about past lives. This also suggested that careful choices can be made about the nature of the evidence used. For instance, it was notable that some artefacts promoted clearer thinking about past lives than others. The shrapnel taken from the Somme battlefield seemed to engage the students with stronger reflections about the nature of the warfare than did either the soldier's cap badge or the Lee-Enfield rifle. It is possible that this may be applied to other areas of history. It may be, for instance, that a Roman coin will make the reality of Roman life more apparent than, for example, a visit to Hadrian's Wall. Similarly, the students also appeared to suggest that obviously authentic artefacts which showed signs of use and even decay promoted stronger thinking than pristine or replica artefacts. It was even noted that some students appeared to suggest that feature film had less of an impact upon them than simple authentic artefacts.

This promotes ideas that good history teaching needs to be well structured and well resourced. It also suggests that the contextual narrative needs to be interwoven with evidence, especially evidence which makes the reality of the past apparent to the student.

It may be the case that for many teachers the need to procure artefacts as evidence seems too challenging. However, this research suggests that simple artefacts are often more effective than complex ones and these are often easier to source. A student may be able to draw complex inferences about Roman life from a simple coin or a well explained mortaria fragment for example.

5.5.i Sense of self

It appeared that the teaching encountered during the research prompted students to have strong thoughts about themselves in relation to the past. It also appeared that they may have been doing this through mechanisms related to their autobiographical memories. There may be implications for the teaching of history which arise because of this mechanism. This suggests that teachers should be aware that students may be thinking about themselves and their family in relation to the past. They may be doing this because they are thinking about how they are connected to the past. This suggests that effective teaching may include the presentation of context that draws the student's attention to how they may be connected to the past. It also suggests that it can be motivating for students to see themselves in relation to the past/future continuum.

5.5.ii Language.

The ideas expressed by the students often appear to be constrained by language, however, the data demonstrated that the student's ideas can be sophisticated and based upon evidence. It may be, therefore, important to identify that historical ideas can be presented in different ways. This could be achieved through oracy/discussion which would allow students and children to express ideas in their own way. It may also be important to reflect carefully on the language chosen to teach history.

5.5.iii My personal learning journey.

This work has reinforced the idea that artefacts can be used to promote ideas that the past was real. It has also strengthened the idea that this sense of the reality was important in allowing the students to form strong ideas about those past lives. However, it also contained some ideas which surprised me and have led to further thoughts about how I may strengthen my own teaching. I was surprised that the students demonstrated an apparently firm and natural grasp of perspective and I believe that this will strengthen my appetite for approaches which do not seek to call upon the students to create a false sense of empathy for the historical figure. This view is partly reinforced by forming an understanding that the students demonstrated very little natural appetite for forming imaginary pictures of past figures as has been promoted by past HE strategies.

5.6 What were the limitations of this work?

This work was effective in that it allowed for an exploration of the dimensions of thinking that may constitute OHR. It was also effective in that it pursued a

methodology which allowed for unexpected themes to emerge from the data. Thus, the data successfully provided a broad view of what may form the basis of OHR. However, this was a small study run where only 11 responses were subjected to analysis. Consequently, whilst it was necessary to take an interpretivist approach to allow for a deep analysis of semi-structured interview data this did not allow for the testing of the themes which emerged from the study. Therefore, the overarching themes which emerged from the data are tentative and will need to be tested through further study.

5.7 How may this be examined further?

This study yielded propositional information about the types of thinking, which may form part of OHR and would benefit from further research. Such further research might take a similar approach to that pursued in this study. However, in doing so it may be more useful to focus upon discrete components of OHR rather than engage in the type of broad analysis followed here. Whilst the whole concept of OHR is at present putative and uncertain exploration of the identified concepts would enable for a firmer view of its dimensions to be put forward.

Suggestions for further research.

The notion of autobiographical memory proposed in this study is particularly uncertain. One of the reasons for this is related to the kind of thinking demonstrated, for example by nos.2 and 11. Both referred to specific interactions with their grandparents. This may be examples of episodic memory and mental time-travel, as defined by Wheeler et al. (1997:331-335). However, the relationship between mental-

time travel and, episodic and autobiographical memory needs to be further explored and refined. We may recall that Williams and Conway (2009:33) explained that episodic memory was formed from recollections of life events and a conceptual, generic and schematic knowledge of personal history which constitutes autobiographical knowledge. However, it is unclear from this data whether the students are reflecting on specific (episodic) interactions with grandparents. It may be, however, that they are engaging in semantic modifications of their own autobiographic knowledge which is based upon reflections of their interactions with grandparents. Further research may help to clarify this.

Further research may be also useful in investigating whether thoughts about identity and reality are connected. It may also help to understand whether the student's thoughts about their own identity are connected to the 'master narrative' of history or what may be termed more local metanarratives of history. Work by writers such as Boyd (2006:333-334) introduce us to the idea of metanarratives in history. In her case she was discussing the work of John Peabody Harrington who collected Klallam narratives of the colonial period of American history. This work was about the way in which individuals have unique historical narratives, often idiosyncratic and unverifiable which are located within larger historical metanarratives that give meaning to locations or events. These are often narratives which sit apart from the master narrative as offered by academics, Valdés and Miyares (2017). In thinking about how artefacts may lead to the possibility of students making connections to these metanarratives we might recall that Cronis (2015:180-2) suggested that narrative is both manifested and substantiated through artefacts – the process of narrative co-construction - where the viewer brings their own experiences as cues to

partake in meaning making. It may be that further research would lead to clearer ideas about whether students are constructing sophisticated links between master narratives of history and more local metanarratives of history which are meaningful to them.

Further research may also explore the deployment of empathy in relation to evidence about past lives. This is because, whilst these data appeared to suggest that empathy was being deployed, it did not enable anything more than limited speculations about its full nature. For instance, the poetry and Harriet Arbuthnot and Bernard Hoblyn diary entries (Chapter 1 pp.58-60) suggested that students can generate cognitive ideas about the thoughts of past historical figures but this line of argument was difficult to sustain from the data. It is possible that further research can explore the fascinating possibility that natural thinking about past lives can encompass both the intimate inside view of the past (promoted by diary entries for example) and a more rational and what might be termed, 'archaeological' approach relayed by artefacts. It would be also useful to engage in further work to understand whether this type of cognitive thinking about past lives generates the same kind of natural perspective as has been uncovered in this work.

Finally, it may also be useful to explore the concept of OHR in relation to the thinking of children. It will be useful to discover whether they display the same kind of consciousness of perspective as do the older students. It may be useful to understand how they deploy natural thinking in relation to understanding the reality of the past. Finally, it will also be useful to determine whether artefacts lead to the same kind of thinking about reality in children.

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Appendix I.

Examples of artefacts used during the teaching.



Artefacts 1. Mobile phone time-line. Samples from a collection of more than 40 phones ranging in date between 1987 and 2015.



Artefact 2. Roman dice (ivory) c.3rd century.



Artefact 3. Polished Neolithic axe c.3,500 – 2,100 BCE. Green volcanic stone. Found in Cambridgeshire.



Artefact 4. Mammoth vertebrae. Norfolk. C.30 – 40,000 BCE.



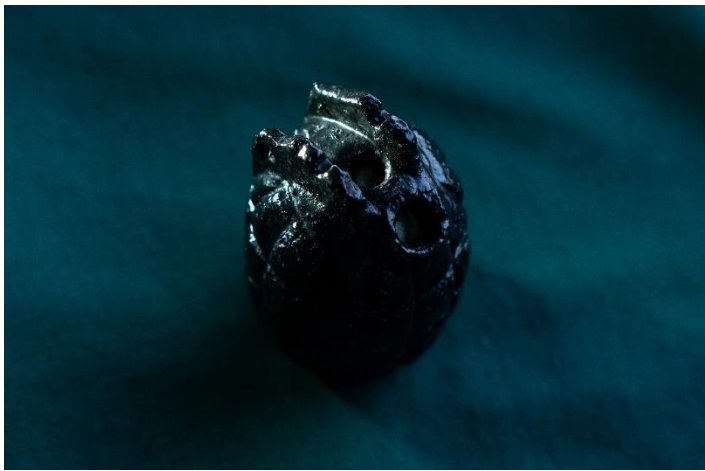
Artefact 5. Victorian photograph c.1865 - 1875. Sample from a collection of more than 100 original photographs. These range in date from c.1848 – 1950.



Artefact 6. WWI. 1917 Lee-Enfield No.3 rifle. Certified de-activated.



Artefacts 7. Samples from the ancient coin collection. Left to right. Roman, denarius of Mark Anthony, 32-31 BCE. Greek, Ionic c.7th century BCE. Celtic, British stater, Durotriges c.50BCE.



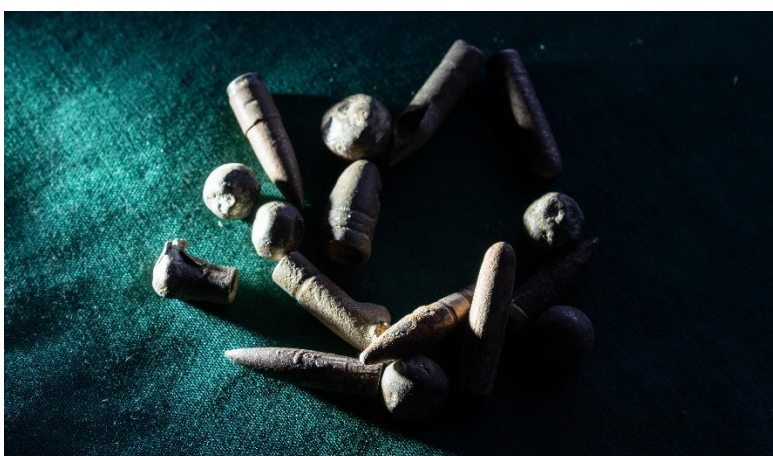
Artefact 8. WWI hand grenade from battlefield at Ypres, Belgium.



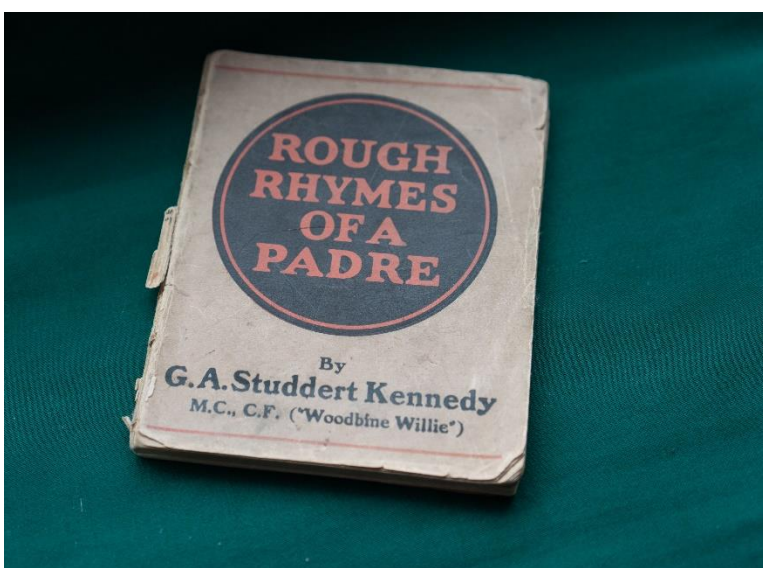
Artefact 9. Neolithic axe rough-out, from Langdale in Cumbria.



Artefacts 10. WWI Lydite shell fragments from The Somme battlefield, France.



Artefacts 11. WWI used bullets and Lydite balls from Ypres battlefield, Belgium.



Artefact 12. WWI (1918) copy of Rough Rhymes of a Padre, Studdert-Kennedy, alias Woodbine Willie.



Artefact 13. Pair of Victorian 'sugar nippers'.



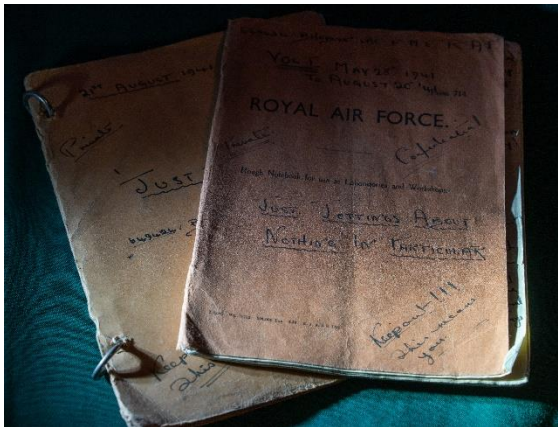
Artefact 14. Footman's jacket, belonging to a servant of the 16th Earl of Derby c.1868.



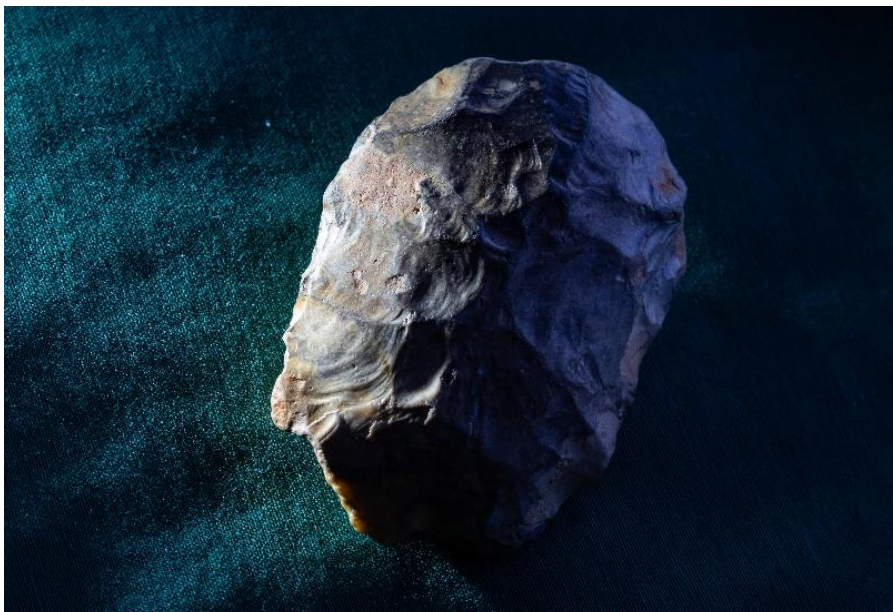
Artefact 15. Early Victorian dress. Taffeta, c.1838.



Artefact 16. Ancient Egyptian 18th Dynasty necklace, c.1,300 BCE (re-strung).



Artefact 17. War diaries of Bernard Hoblyn covering the period May to August 1941.



Artefact 18. Lower Palaeolithic, Achulean hand-axe from the Forest of Dean c.350,000 BCE.

Appendix 2. Teaching Plans referred to by Interviewees.

Teaching Plan 1. Romans, Taught Session. 2hrs.

Contextualising an historical period.

Learning Outcomes.

1. To achieve a general level of subject knowledge (suitable for teaching KS2) of the Romano British period.
2. To understand the value of good historical subject knowledge.
3. To be able to place the Romans in the correct chronological period.
4. To model pedagogical techniques suitable for teaching the Romans as a topic.
5. To understand the importance of the use of evidence (particularly artefacts) in the teaching of the Romans.

Introduction to the topic.

Play video of the first 7 minutes of the film 'Gladiator.' Discuss and re-show the film scene by scene – explore the historical details: arrangement of soldiers, equipment, palisade stakes, formations, dispersal of the cavalry, historical and Latin terms etc. Discuss the pedagogical reasons for using film; these may include: recall of previous knowledge, historical imagination, being able to picture the past. Discuss the disadvantages of using feature film such as: it is fantasy and the children may recognise this, indestructible hero figures, depicts battle in a way that may make children assume that Roman soldiers fought all the time – this leads to discussion of the civil roles of a soldier plus a general summary of their duties, training and recruitment.

Produce an artefact as evidence of the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

Pose the following question. Did the events depicted actually happen? Debate the possibilities. It represents a partial truth – discuss how we may know this. Discuss the importance of sources and evidence. Show coin of Marcus Aurelius and compare his portrait to that of the face of

Richard Harris/Dumbledore – pass this around. Then quickly look at the Philosophies of Marcus Aurelius.

Main activity phase:

First activity – using historical sources to understand and think about significant historical events.

Activity: Pose question: Who is most famous Roman? Answer is generally Julius Caesar. Ask if they would like to hear the description he wrote of the peoples of Kent after his invasion of 54BCE. Read chap 14 book 5 of the Gallic Wars in Latin. Ask them to translate through a process I will term 'dead reckoning'. 'Dead reckoning' is achieved by working from Latin words which are recognisable in English. Discuss why this is possible and consider the roots of English as a language. Also note what this tells us about the Roman influence on Britain. Complete the task and discuss how it may be replicated in school.

Quickly discuss children as experts.

Second Activity:

'Children as experts' task.

Activity: The identification of a Roman coin. This is a coin of the Emperor Domitian. This is done by studying and then copying the lettering on the obverse of the coin. The resulting lettering is then compared to identification sheets which have been downloaded from the internet. It is made clear that as the coin is genuine not all the letters are legible. Consider how this task is done in school and consider potential sources for Roman coins. Look at brief PowerPoint on the occupation and establishment of Lancaster which is likely to have occurred during the Reign of Domitian.

Third activity relating an artefact to the context in which past lives were lived.

Possible final activity (dependant upon time). Consider how to bring an unpromising olive oil amphora fragment to life. This is achieved by researching what an olive oil amphora may have looked like. Then the artefact is photographed and printed at 1:1. Then the fragment is placed

within a re-construction drawing which depicts the artefact at real size. This is part of the above PowerPoint.

Final.

Re-cap of learning and apply to a chronology of the Roman period and a consideration of curriculum links to the Romans.

Teaching Plan 2. Victorians, Taught Session. 2hrs.

Contextualising an historical period.

Learning Outcomes.

1. To achieve a general level of subject knowledge (suitable for teaching KS2) of the Victorian period.
2. To understand the value of good historical subject knowledge.
3. To be able to place the Victorians in the correct chronological period.
4. To model pedagogical techniques suitable for teaching the Victorians as a topic.
5. To understand the importance of the use of evidence (particularly artefacts) in the teaching of the Victorians.

Introduction.

Play video of the first 15 minutes *Pride and Prejudice* – the Kiera Knightly, Donald Sutherland version. (Make it clear that the story is set at around the time of Victoria's birth). Discuss and re-play the video scene by scene. Look at, the costume used, the washing being carried out by servants, the needle-work left out in the house, the piano playing, the deference given towards Mr Bennett from Mrs Bennett. Unpack the ball scene, the music, dancing and the deference paid towards Mr Darcy and co. Discuss (in some depth) what it tells us about the lives of women and the prospects of young girls at the very outset of the Victorian period.

Recall the debate on the value and disadvantages of video covered in the first lecture.

Look at photographs by Frank Meadow-Sutcliffe of Victorians – these are presented as PowerPoint slides. Focus on the Dryden family standing on Whitby Quay. Consider that the image was taken late in the Victorian period (define this) and depicts the lives of a family of artisans – in this case fishing folk. Consider the status of artisans who were unlikely to have

regarded themselves as being poor. Look at what their clothes say about their lives and the conditions they live in. Look at what the photo tells us of the role of the father in the family. Consider the possible prospects for the children.

Handling artefacts and understanding them as being related to ordinary lives in the past.

Recap the value of using sources and evidence in the teaching of history and learning about the contexts in which real lives were lived.

Activity: Hand out photographs from the Victorian photograph collection. Allow students sufficient time to look at them. Draw their attention to the fact that people engage with the photographs in different ways. Ask the students to make observations about the photographs they have been handling. Chose a few examples to discuss in more detail: boys wearing dresses, women's costume (particularly the crinolines) the post-mortem shots (of people who were photographed after their death because no image was taken during their lives). Discuss these in detail – particularly considering fashion and how clothing was made and purchased. Discuss how artefacts may be handled with children in school. Discuss the importance of demonstrating that the artefacts are special and must be handled with care – doing this confers status upon the handling activity.

Produce examples of Victorian costume – either the footman's jacket and or one of the dresses (dependent on the size of the group).

Activity: Students work as teams to try and identify the date in which the costume was likely to have been made. They then have to show their research and discuss their views of the accuracy of the date they have applied to the particular costume. We then compare this to my own findings and I explain the reasons for my applied date. We then discuss the fact that the dress was likely to have been home-made and hand-sewn. We look at Jane Austen's own words about her needle-work skills.

Discuss the care with which we must identify artefacts and how the internet may be used in this respect.

Artefacts that depict the context in which Victorian lives were lived.

Activity: Students work in teams to try and identify the following artefacts: Ale muller, snuffer and candlewick trimmer, sugar nippers, field rattle, etc. When they have identified their artefact they must then go on to think about and research the wider context in which the artefact existed – in other words they will consider how to use the artefact to extend children’s learning about the past. For example we discuss examples of wider learning such as using the wick trimmer to think about how homes were lit and even the possibility of activities such as making rush dips in class. We also discuss the field rattle and what it tells us about children’s work on the land. We consider examples of children’s nursery rhymes where birds scaring is referred to. We also go on to consider other examples of children’s work and consider an example of Jellinger Symons’ 1841 Children’s Employment Commission report on work in the west Cumbrian coal mines.

Recap on the information presented during the session and remind students of possible National Curriculum links to the Victorians.

Teaching Plan 3. WWI, Taught Session. 2hrs.

Contextualising an historical period.

Learning Outcomes.

1. To achieve a general level of subject knowledge (suitable for teaching KS2) of the WWI period.
2. To understand the value of good historical subject knowledge.
3. To be able to place WWI in the correct chronological period.
4. To model pedagogical techniques suitable for teaching the WWI as a topic.
5. To understand the importance of the use of evidence (particularly artefacts) in the teaching of WWI.

Introduction.

Look at image of Richard Jack’s painting, Return to the Front, Victoria Railway Station, 1916.

Unpack the title and consider how it refers to WWI. Consider the notion of returning to trench

warfare in the post Somme period. Consider what the Western Front was and its extent through Belgium and France. Set this in the context of WWI.

Look at a series of informal photographs taken of soldiers prior to the Battle of the Somme in 1916. Make a consideration as to whether they appear to be regular or irregular (volunteer) troops. Make a consideration of whether their demeanour suggests they have already been in battle. Notice other things about the photographs such as age, apparent relationships or family resemblances between those in shot. None of the soldiers in the shots has been identified and this is because they are likely to have been killed in the Somme Battle.

Relating sources to the story of the Somme Battle.

Look at the facts of the Somme Battle and its context. Look at and unpack excerpts of the Malins and McDowell (Imperial War Museum) documentary film recorded at the time (can be viewed on [youtube.com/watch?v=uhHdZLioRZg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uhHdZLioRZg)). Listen to the oral testimony of Richard Tobin [bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/p01tdbzp/the-great-war-interviews11-richard-henry-tobin](https://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/p01tdbzp/the-great-war-interviews11-richard-henry-tobin) on what it was like to have been in a WWI battle. Listen to read excerpts from the diary of Lt McCardle on what it was like to have been in a battle. Finally read first sections of the poem 'What's the Good' from a WWI copy of the poems of G.A. Studdert-Kennedy.

Relating artefacts to the story of the Somme battle.

Activity: Pass around a range of battlefield artefacts; shrapnel, spent bullets, shell fragments taken from the battlefields at Ypres and the Somme. Relate these to the complete artefacts and how they would have been used on the battlefield – this via PowerPoint on WWI. Place them in the context of the first day of the Somme battle. Then look at the 1917 Lee-Enfield (de-activated) and the Kings Own cap badge recovered from Ypres.

Reading accounts of the war whilst dressed in costume of soldier.

Activity: Using the Richard Jack painting as a model. students dress as a soldier (using the costume provided) and carrying the Lee-Enfield students will read a prepared and rehearsed

account (such as a diary) or contemporary WWI poem. This will be performed by small groups in front of the other students.

Recap.

Recap learning and view WWI chronology. Understand National Curriculum (2013) links.

Teaching Plan 4.

Chronology and archaeology, 2hrs.

Learning Outcomes.

1. To achieve a general level of subject knowledge (suitable for teaching KS2) of the archaeological period of British history.
2. To understand the value of good historical subject knowledge.
3. To be able to conceptualise the chronology of the archaeological period.
4. To model pedagogical techniques suitable for teaching archaeology.
5. To understand the importance of the use of evidence (particularly artefacts) in the teaching of archaeology.

Modern chronology.

Activity: We discuss the idea of change over the student's and their parent's own lifetimes and I ask them to suggest artefacts which might be a good example of change over the last 30 years. I ask the students to recall mobile phones they remember and the rough dates when they had those mobiles. I reveal my case of over 40 mobile phones ranging in date from 1987 to the present day and compare them to those they have thought of (often I have many of the same phones so it can be exciting for the students).

I introduce the activity which is to produce a curated time-line of the mobile phones they have chosen. I explain they must make a 'museum label' giving the facts about the phone (based upon their research) and a social history of the year in which the mobile was released. The social history may include; news events, politics, sport, music and films, and will be presented to the rest of the class. The rest of the class must then guess the year. The phone is then placed upon the curated time-line.

We then discuss the value of enquiry learning and how in doing their research they have acted both as historians and museum curators. We also think about how they have produced information for two audiences and how such a task would be of value in school.

Archaeological chronology.

Activity: The 4 billion years time-line. During this activity the students are presented with a series of genuine artefacts that are designed to help them think about time. These artefacts will also allow them to begin to acquire an archaeological vocabulary which will be potentially useful as teachers.

The activity is supported by PowerPoint slides which contain the chronological vocabulary. Each archaeological phase is explained and each artefact is contextualised and then further explained. All artefacts can be handled although some must be handled with gloves whilst over cloth pads. The tour starts off with a stony-iron meteorite which may pre-date earth and represents space time. The meteorite may be over 4 billion years old. The next artefact is a c.350 million year old mussel fossil which represents the palaeontological period. An Achulean axe is used to represent the Palaeolithic period and other artefacts are viewed in sequence up to the Roman period. Highlights of this collection will include a mammoth vertebrae – which was hunted by Neanderthal humans.

Groups of students are then set various tasks. The first is to work out how long the time-line would be if 1,000 years = 1cm. A second group provides a time-line of the basic facts of hominid evolution which can be applied to the time-line. The last group has to date and apply the following world history artefacts to the time-line. An Egyptian New Kingdom faience bead necklace, a cuneiform writing tablet and an Ionian coin (thought to be of the first sequence of coins ever issued). They will present their findings to the other groups.

Recap.

The main facts covered. Discuss where archaeology can be viewed and handled. Illustrate how this teaching matches the requirements of the National Curriculum (2013).

Appendix 3. Interview Schedules.

Pilot phase.

March-April 2016, first 2 pilot interviews conducted (14:11-23:31 minutes).

Interviews transcribed and analysed.

June 2016, pilot focus group (c.45 minutes) and pilot interview no.3 (18:14 minutes) conducted.

Interviews transcribed and analysed.

Main study phases.

1. March 2017 Interviews.

Female No.1, 15:18 minutes. Female, No.2, 16:05 minutes. Female No.3, 29:01 minutes. Male, No.8, 25:50 minutes. Male No.9, 33:58 minutes. Male interview no.12, c.19 minutes (No.12 rejected).

Transcribed.

2. May 2017 Interviews.

Female, No.4, 31:49 minutes. Female, No.5 14:08 minutes. Female No.6, 13:55 minutes. Female, No.7, 14:04 minutes.

Transcribed.

3. June 2017 Interviews.

Male, No.10, 19:36 minutes. Female, No.11, 15:15 minutes.

Female interview no.13, c.9 minutes (No.13. rejected).

Transcribed.

Appendix 4. Participant information.

The Information Sheet:



PhD Thesis (Lancaster University)

Participant Information Sheet

About the study

This is a study of an important social mechanism within the teaching of social studies. We are interested in the way you as a participant think about an aspect of the teaching you have encountered. We hope this work will lead to the development of improved techniques for teaching and learning in history at all levels.

Some questions you may have about the research project:

Why have you asked me to take part and what will I be required to do?

You have been asked to participate because you have expressed an interest in teaching.

As part of this study you may be asked to do a number of things (you may not be asked to do all of these but you will be given clear advice of this prior to your participation):

1. Be the subject of a semi-structured interview.
2. Attend semi-structured interviews after teaching input.
3. Be photographed or videoed as you engage in some of the teaching activities – you may request for this not to happen without withdrawing from the project.

What if I do not wish to take part or change my mind during the study?

Your participation in the study is entirely voluntary. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time without having to provide a reason for doing so.

What happens to the research data?

Your data will make an important contribution to our understanding of the impact of different methods for the teaching of history. Your name will not be reported in association with any of the research findings unless you have specifically granted permission for this to happen. Any work you provide or transcripts from interviews will be anonymised – you will be represented by a number or letter. Any raw data will be securely kept in a locked filing cabinet in the researcher's university office. Raw data will be destroyed after 7 years.

Samples of your work may be photographed and or presented as an example in any report or publication arising from the research.

If you are videoed or photographed your image will not be disseminated in any form unless you have specifically granted permission for this to happen. Permission to use your image will only be sought in conjunction with providing information about this research.

Any video material will be kept on SD cards and not stored on any systems. It will be securely kept in the researcher's university office and deleted when no longer required and in any case after 7 years.

You will have the right to see any work produced as a result of the research. If you feel you have disclosed any material which is sensitive you may ask the researcher not to use it.

How will the research be reported?

The research will be reported initially in a PhD thesis. It may also be used in publications such as book chapters and journals. It could also be reported at conferences and seminars. You will not be identified in any of this output – you will be represented as a number of a letter – unless you have specifically granted permission for this to happen. If you wish the researcher will be happy to share any published work with you.

How can I find out more information?

Please contact the researcher directly. Hugh Moore, Barbon 109. 01524 384453
hugh.moore@cumbria.ac.uk

Cumbria University, Bowerham Rd, Lancaster LA1 3JD

What if I want to complain about the research

Initially you should contact the researcher directly. However, if you are not satisfied or wish to make a more formal complaint you should contact Diane Cox, Director of Research Office, University of Cumbria, Bowerham Road, Lancaster, LA1 3JD. diane.cox@cumbria.ac.uk



PhD Thesis

Participant Consent Form

Please answer the following questions by circling your responses:

Have you read and understood the information sheet about this study? YES NO

Have you been able to ask questions and had enough information? YES NO

Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from this study at any time, and without having to give a reason for withdrawal? YES NO

Do you understand that if you are participating in an assessed module you are free to withdraw from the research at any time and it will not impact on your module assessment? YES NO

Your responses will be anonymised. Do you give permission for members of the research team to analyse and quote your anonymous responses? YES NO

Are you prepared to be videoed or photographed as you take part in this project? YES NO

(If your answer is NO it will not affect your participation in this project.)

If you have been videoed or photographed do you give permission for the images to be used for the purposes of informing others about this project? YES NO

(If YES you will be asked to fill out a separate consent form.)

Please sign here if you wish to take part in the research and feel you have had enough information about what is involved:

Signature of participant:..... **Date:**.....

Name (block letters):.....

Section 3: Confidentiality/Anonymity

Your name will not be reported in association with any of the research findings unless you have specifically granted permission for this to happen. Any work you provide or transcripts from interviews will be anonymised – you will be represented by a number or letter. Any raw data will be securely kept in a locked filing cabinet in the researcher’s university office. Raw data will be destroyed after 7 years.

Samples of your work may be photographed and or presented as an example in any report or publication arising from the research.

If you are videoed or photographed your image will not be disseminated in any form unless you have specifically granted permission for this to happen. Permission to use your image will only be sought in conjunction with providing information about this research.

Any video material will be kept on SD cards and not stored on any systems. It will be securely kept in the researcher’s university office and deleted when no longer required and in any case after 7 years.

You will have the right to see any work produced as a result of the research. If you feel you have disclosed any material which is sensitive you may ask the researcher not to use it.

